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**Rethinking National Identities: Representations of the Mapuche
and Dominant Discourses of Nationhood in Twentieth-Century Chile**

Joanna Crow

**A thesis submitted to the University of London,
in candidacy for the Doctor of Philosophy
from the Department of History, University College London**

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ABSTRACT

Existing scholarship has tended to exclude Chile from studies of *indigenismo* in Latin America, on the basis that it has not experienced the same history of ethnic conflict as other countries in the region. My doctoral thesis challenges this consensus, highlighting various discursive manifestations of such a conflict in twentieth-century Chile, and investigating the successive attempts of intellectuals and state institutions to redefine the place of indigenous cultures within Chilean nationhood. Located within the theoretical study of nationalism and national identity the thesis explores the way in which dominant images of “Chilean-ness” and “Mapuche-ness” have changed during the twentieth century, particularly since the 1960s. It illustrates how divergent identity discourses competed with one another, underlining both the presence of *indigenista* narratives and the way in which these have been incorporated into, but often subverted by, dominant representations of *chilenidad*. Examining a wide range of materials linked to key sites of nation building in Chile – historiography, education, museums and literature – it seeks to demonstrate the fluid nature of both Mapuche and Chilean identity discourses.

My thesis traces the emergence of a minority (Mapuche) nationalism that has sought to counter and invalidate official state nationalism. However, it also aims to illustrate the limitations of the standard interpretations of ethnic politics in the country, which either portray the Mapuche as a people fighting heroically against state repression, or reduce their struggle to nostalgic idealism and claim as inevitable the assimilation of Mapuche culture into “Chilean-ness”. Throughout the twentieth century the Mapuche have been actively engaged with the state, often opposing its ideological underpinnings, but also negotiating with them. Indeed, many Mapuche have worked as part of the state apparatus, trying to carve out a place for their people within rather than outside national imaginings. The Chilean experience thereby provides a largely unexplored case study of the conflictive process of reconstructing ethnic and national identities, within a framework of debates about the roles of history, memory and culture in nation-building.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

In Mapuzungun

<i>Chemamull</i>	“People of wood”, wooden statue depicting human figure, traditionally found in Mapuche cemeteries or sites of the nguillatún (see below)
<i>Huinca</i>	Chilean, foreigner (enemy, traitor, liar, thief)
<i>Kultrún</i>	Sacred drum (decorated with the four elements of the Mapuche universe) used in many Mapuche rituals
<i>Llongko</i>	Mapuche community leader, Mapuche “chief”
<i>Machi</i>	Respected Mapuche authority, usually a woman (although traditionally men also took on the role), invested with special healing powers, and the ability to enter trances and read dreams
<i>Nguillatún</i>	Ceremony during which Mapuche communities usually give thanks to the spirits for previous harvests and ask for good fortune in the year to come. Today requests are quite varied; some communities, for example, have asked for favourable resolutions to their land conflicts
<i>Rewe</i>	Wooden structure, similar to a totem-pole, which represents a stairway between the natural and the spiritual worlds
<i>Ruka</i>	Traditional rural dwelling
<i>We Tripantu</i>	Mapuche New Year, 24 th June (coincides with the winter solstice)

In Spanish

<i>Cacique</i>	Spanish term for llongko (see above)
<i>Chilenidad</i>	Chilean-ness, Chilean nationality
<i>Huaso</i>	A traditional horseman, the Chilean equivalent of Argentina’s <i>gaucho</i>
<i>Huemul</i>	Small Andean deer

INTRODUCTION

Contested Meanings of Nation in Twentieth-Century Chile

Until recently, many scholars claimed that Chile – having successfully integrated its different indigenous populations through a process of *mestizaje* that dated back to colonial times – did not suffer the same ethnic divides as other countries in Latin America.¹ When Chile's so-called "Indian problem" was acknowledged it was usually on the basis of one of two claims: either that the problem had been resolved through the euphemistically named "pacification" campaigns (1860s-1880s) or that it was limited to a few isolated communities in the south. Ethnic divisions were thus considered peripheral or of little relevance to national debates. As a result, the country has tended to be excluded from studies of *indigenismo* and the development of ethnic based nationalisms in Latin America.² Such studies have focused primarily on Mexico and Peru but have also incorporated most other Latin American countries, even Argentina, where indigenous peoples represent approximately 1% of the population compared to Chile's current 4.6%.³ Perhaps one of the factors that helps to explain Chile's absence from scholarly debates on *indigenismo* is the

¹ Ernst Halperin, *Nationalism and Communism in Chile* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1965); Jay Kinsbrunner, *Chile: A Historical Interpretation* (London: Harper and Row, 1973); Rolando Mellafe, 'La identidad histórica chilena', *VII Jornadas Nacionales de Cultura* (Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 1982); Hector Maldini, *On Chile and Chileans* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1995); Cristián Gazmuri, 'Algunos rasgos de la mentalidad chilena: una perspectiva histórica', *Revista Universitaria* 59 (1998). The Afro-Chilean population has received scant academic attention, partly because it is so small: Chile's poverty during the colonial period precluded the development of African slavery on any great scale. See Simon Collier and William Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-1994* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 9. Recently, however, there has been a growing interest in Afro-Chilean communities. See Marcelo Simonetti, 'Los descendientes de esclavos: Chile negro', *El Mercurio, El Sábado* supplement (1st November 2002), pp. 24-29.

² A search under '*indigenismo*' in the Periodicals Content Index in February 2005 produced 269 results, only two of which referred to Chile. David Foster made no reference to Chile in his 'Bibliografía del indigenismo hispanoamericano', *Revista Iberoamericana* 50 (April/June 1984). Studies of Chile were also absent from Jorge Domínguez's *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1994), as they were from Nancy Appelbaum *et al.*'s recent edited volume, *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

³ According to Hector Vásquez, indigenous peoples in Argentina numbered between 250,000 and 400,000 in the 1990s, representing between 0.7% and 1.2% of the country's total population. See *Procesos identitarios y exclusión sociocultural: La cuestión indígena en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Biblos, 2000). The 2002 census in Chile recorded 692,192 people as belonging to "algún grupo indígena", representing 4.6% of the total population.

persistent refusal of its governments to recognise the existence of indigenous peoples in the country. A widely cited example of such tactics of denial involved Pablo Neruda, when he was consul to Mexico in 1940. Seeking to increase Mexicans' awareness about Chilean culture, he published a magazine called *Araucanía*, which displayed the smiling face of a Mapuche woman on the cover. Neruda sent copies to state officials in Chile, purportedly expecting praise and gratitude for his endeavour. Instead, he was severely reprimanded and instructed to suspend the publication immediately: "We are not a country of Indians!", they told him.⁴ Even a Popular Front government led by Pedro Aguirre Cerda (the "spitting image" of Mapuche legendary hero Michimalongo, according to Neruda)⁵ seemed unwilling to accept indigenous people as protagonists in the national narrative.

The idea that Chile was ethnically different from other Latin American countries was officially promoted by the state alongside a narrative of Chilean political "exceptionalism". From as early as the mid-nineteenth century the country enjoyed great prestige for its ability to sustain a strong and orderly, yet also increasingly liberal, system of government when many of its neighbouring republics seemed dogged by *caudillismo* and internal strife.⁶ In consequence, Chile was widely seen as exemplary of a tradition of civic nationalism, based on loyalty – at least among the elites – to the country's political institutions and faith in the ideals of democratic republicanism. This notion of Chile's uniqueness continued throughout much of the twentieth century.⁷

⁴ For a full account of the episode see Pablo Neruda, 'Nosotros los indios', *Ercilla* 1776 (1968).

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Simon Collier provides ample evidence of both Chileans and foreigners (mainly travellers and dignitaries) promoting the country as a "model republic" from the 1830s/1840s onwards. See *Chile: The Making of a Republic, 1830-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

⁷ Alberto Edwards, *La fronda aristocrática en Chile* (Santiago: Editorial del Pacífico, [1928] 1976); Ernst Halperin, *Nationalism and Communism in Chile* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1965); Pamela Constable and Arturo Valenzuela, *A Nation of Enemies: Chile under Pinochet* (New York: Norton and Co., 1991); Leslie Bethell (ed.) *Chile since Independence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Collier and Sater, *A History of Chile*. Chile's exceptionalism has been promoted as much by foreign scholars as by Chileans. In recent years it would even be fair to claim that the Anglophone literature has shown a greater tendency than Chilean works to adhere to such a narrative.

The coup of 1973, however, forced many scholars to rethink dominant interpretations of Chilean political history: the narrative of democracy and institutional stability was offset by accounts of profound social conflict, popular rebellion, state violence, even civil wars.⁸ My thesis seeks to expand the revisionist approach by also challenging the pervasive notion of the country's ethnic exceptionalism. It argues against Chile's exclusion from comparative studies of *indigenismo* in the region and aims to show that, as a complex and largely unexplored case study, Chile can help clarify thinking around this concept. It contends that civic nationalism was never the only form of nationalism to be enunciated in republican Chile. On the contrary, my evidence shows that ethnicity has been a sub-text of Chilean nationalism since the time of independence, when governments exalted the Araucanian warriors (renowned in the history books for successfully resisting Spanish colonial rule) as the founding fathers of the Chilean nation. Chile's ethnic roots were largely suppressed around the mid-nineteenth century, as positivist liberalism became the dominant ideology among political elites, but were revived in the early twentieth century with the emergence of *decadentismo* (the – mainly conservative – theory of national decline). The Left also incorporated an ethnic element into its nationalist discourses, promoting land and nature as the emotive base of *chilenidad* and appropriating symbols of autochthonous cultures to assert a supposedly more authentic and popular vision of the national community. Pinochet sought to reverse such moves, although his government's attempts to reaffirm a conservative image of Chilean-ness did not entirely disqualify the Mapuche, for they were central to a national narrative based on militarism. When re-democratisation then demanded a new script of national identity ethnicity had a key role to play. Indeed, no longer a sub-text, ethnicity was brought to the forefront of state-generated images of nationhood during the 1990s.

⁸ Gabriel Salazar, *Labradores, peones y proletarios: formación y crisis de la sociedad popular chilena del siglo XIX* (Santiago, 1985); Gabriel Salazar and Julio Pinto, *Historia contemporánea de Chile I: Estado, legitimidad, ciudadanía* (Santiago: Ediciones LOM, 1999); Maurice Zeitlin, *The Civil Wars in Chile (or The Bourgeois Revolutions that Never Were)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt, *El peso de la noche. Nuestra frágil fortaleza histórica* (Santiago: Planeta-Ariel, 1998); María Angélica Illanes, *La Batalla de la Memoria* (Santiago: Planeta, 2002).

In the light of the above it will be argued that to concentrate solely on the exclusionary “anti-Indian” aspect of state discourse is to obscure the complexities of the relationship between indigenous peoples and the state in twentieth-century Chile. It is also to ignore the inconsistency of official declarations on the subject; episodes like the one involving Neruda tell only half the story. The specific focus of my thesis is the Mapuche, and evidence from official documents shows that Chilean governments did in fact, on many occasions, recognise their – or the Araucanians’ – continuing presence in the country. The use of the term ‘araucano’ could be linked to the elite’s wish to retain the (historical) qualities of the Araucanian warrior, without acknowledging the contemporary reality of indigenous cultures. *Araucano* is still a commonly heard expression in 2005, but many people, who prefer to call themselves Mapuche, denounce it as a colonial, even racist appellation, imposed by outsiders (i.e., the Spanish *conquistadores*).⁹ Araucanian is also more limited in its remit than Mapuche because it refers only to those indigenous peoples who lived in Araucanía, whereas Mapuche encompasses several different subgroups, traditionally from the eighth, ninth and tenth regions: the Mapuche-Huilliche from the south (Chiloe), for example, or the Mapuche-Lafkenche from the coast. (See appendix for maps of Chile from the nineteenth and twentieth century, as well as more detailed maps of the eighth, ninth and tenth regions.) On the basis that the broader definition is recognised by an Indigenous Law (1993), this thesis will use the term Mapuche throughout, unless directly quoting or paraphrasing another source. It should also be noted that by ‘Chileans’ I mean nationals of the country who do not explicitly identify themselves as part of an indigenous collective.

Throughout the twentieth century official population censuses confirmed the existence of thousands of indigenous communities in southern Chile. In 1907 the Instituto Nacional de Estadística [National Institute of Statistics] recorded over 100,000 “Araucanians” living in six different provinces. A subsequent government report commented enthusiastically on these figures, praising Chile for having

⁹ Recent research by Guillaume Boccard has endeavoured to show, however, that a specifically ‘Mapuche’ ethnic identity was not invented or imagined until the eighteenth century. See *Guerre et ethnogenèse dans le chili colonial: l’invention de soi* (Paris: Harmattan, 1998).

managed “to conquer and occupy Araucanía without annihilating the defeated”.¹⁰ The fact that ethnic identity was also recorded in the censuses of 1920, 1940, 1952 and 1960 calls into question the widespread claim that the census of 1992 constituted the first official recognition of indigenous peoples’ presence in contemporary Chile. It was, however, innovative in its decision to accept “indigenous” as a self-defined category.¹¹ It also seems to have been the first time that the term Mapuche was used.¹² More significantly, the 1992 census recorded a dramatic increase in the number of Mapuche citizens (928,060 in total or 9.6% of the national adult population) and revealed that 79% of them lived in cities.¹³ Santiago alone was home to 409,000, over 40% of the total Mapuche population. Hence, the exclusively ruralist image of Mapuche society, hitherto relegated to the Frontier Region (as the south is called), was rendered obsolete and anthropologists and sociologists began to take a serious interest in migration and urbanisation as experienced by Mapuche communities and individuals.¹⁴ It also meant that the “Indian question” was from then on considered to be a national, as opposed to a merely regional, concern.

¹⁰ Comisión Central del Censo, ‘Población indígena según el censo de 1907’, *Proyectos de Ley, Actas de Sesiones y otros antecedentes* (Santiago, 1912), pp. 201-204.

¹¹ The censuses of 1940 and 1952 stated that to be an “indigenous inhabitant” a person had to be living on an indigenous reservation. See Instituto Nacional de Estadística, *XII Censo General de Población y de Vivienda, 24 de abril 1952* (Santiago, 1953), p. 83. Secondary sources confirm that this was also the case for the censuses of 1907, 1920 and 1960. See José Bengoa and Eduardo Valenzuela, *Economía mapuche. Pobreza y subsistencia en la sociedad mapuche contemporánea* (Santiago: PAS, 1984) pp. 46-50.

¹² While Bengoa and Valenzuela (op. cit.) referred to the number of “inhabitants of Mapuche communities” the censuses of 1940 and 1952 specifically used the term “Araucanian population”, “indigenous inhabitant” or “indigenous reservation”.

¹³ Instituto Nacional de Estadística, *Censo de Población y Vivienda* (Santiago, 1992). By 2002 the figures had changed considerably: just over 604,000 people self-identified as Mapuche (less than 5% of the total population). As a result, some Mapuche political organisations accused the state authorities of committing statistical genocide. See *El Mercurio* (29th March 2003), p. C8. The varying figures do not so much illustrate a problem of statistical accuracy as of ethnic categorisations. According to an official report on the results of the 2002 census, there was a slight shift in the meaning of the question about ethnic identity between 1992 and 2002. In the first people were asked if they identified with an indigenous culture (Mapuche, Aymara or Rapanui) whereas in the second they were asked if they belonged to one of Chile’s eight ethnic groups. See *Censo 2002: Síntesis de resultados* (Santiago: INE, 2003), p. 23. In addition, 1992 marked a wave of indigenous political mobilisations throughout Latin America, in opposition to official celebrations of the Quincentenary of Spain’s so-called “discovery” of the Americas, which sparked a widespread identification with and sympathy for indigenous cultures.

¹⁴ José Ancán, ‘Urban Mapuches: Reflections on a Modern Reality in Chile’, *Abya Yala News* 10: 3 (1997).

There is also a long history of indigenous legislation treating the Mapuche as “other” from mainstream society, which would seem to confirm that Chilean state authorities accepted, even if they lamented, the reality of the country’s ethnic diversity. (After all, to treat Mapuche people differently was to acknowledge that they had not yet been fully assimilated.)¹⁵ The majority of laws dealt with the division and privatisation of Mapuche communal lands. However, they also existed – at least in theory – to protect Mapuche families from potential injustices occurring during this process. *Jueces de indios* were established in 1930 to supervise land sales, except when the individuals involved had received an education, in which case they were deemed capable of representing themselves. In 1953 the government of Carlos Ibáñez created the Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas [Bureau of Indigenous Affairs] to deal with land reform and other issues directly related to indigenous communities. The latter was not so much a state initiative as an example of the government acceding to the demands of Mapuche organisations.¹⁶ Moreover, indigenous legislation was constantly being debated and modified, as illustrated by congress reports and academic work on the subject.¹⁷ Chilean state discourse on indigenous peoples therefore warrants a more detailed analysis than it has previously received, particularly in comparative studies on the historical constructions of race and ethnicity in Latin America. The burgeoning literature on the rise and impact of indigenous movements in the region would also benefit from incorporating the Chilean experience.¹⁸

¹⁵ Laws and decrees on Chile’s indigenous peoples passed between 1813-1936 were reproduced in Alvaro Jara, *Legislación Indigenista de Chile* (Mexico D.F.: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, 1956).

¹⁶ The 1927 law declared that a Mapuche reservation could be divided if only one person asked for the division. In 1931 Mapuche organisations’ protests were partly acknowledged when the law was amended so that one third of people on the reservation had to request its division. See Alejandro Lipschutz, ‘La propiedad indígena en la legislación reciente de Chile’, *América Indígena* 8: 4 (1948).

¹⁷ Articles from the *Boletín Indigenista* confirm that Chileans were debating the country’s “Indian question”. See ‘Chile: Primer foro indigenista’, *Boletín Indigenista* 19: 4 (December 1959).

¹⁸ None of the following includes material on Chile: Donna Lee Van Cott’s *The Friendly Liquidation of the Past: The Politics of Diversity in Latin America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000); David Maybury Lewis (ed.), *The Politics of Ethnicity: Indigenous Peoples in Latin American States* (London: Harvard University Press, 2002); Rachel Sieder (ed.), *Multiculturalism in Latin America: Indigenous Rights, Diversity and Democracy* (London: Palgrave, 2002) William Assies, Gemma van der Haar and André Hoekema (eds.), *The Challenge of Diversity: Indigenous Peoples*

According to Alvaro Jara, whose study covered the period 1813-1936, it was only the Mapuche who were subject to specific laws in Chile: indigenous peoples from the northern regions and Patagonia were treated uniformly as Chileans.¹⁹ The *Ley Indígena* introduced by Allende's government in 1972 also prioritised the Mapuche over other cultures.²⁰ This partly explains why my thesis focuses on the Mapuche. They are also Chile's largest indigenous collective, accounting for over eighty-five percent of all indigenous peoples in the country. In recent years, Aymara and Rapa Nui organisations have complained that the Mapuche dominate debates about ethnic politics in Chile. To a certain extent, my work perpetuates this tendency. Yet it would be problematic to analyse the situation of the Mapuche together with that of Chile's other indigenous peoples given the contrasting histories of their incorporation into the Chilean state. Indeed, to explore each group's changing relationship with Chilean nationality would have required a separate thesis in each case.

As well as government tactics of denial, which – as shown above – were contradicted by official statistics and existent legislation, there is another possible explanation for the country's exclusion from studies of *indigenismo*. That is the consensus that popular nationalism has not been as strong in Chile as in many other Latin American countries, partly at least because it has had no major periods of populist rule – no Perón, Vargas or Cárdenas. However, Arturo Alessandri (1868-1950) has been described as populist and Carlos Ibáñez's second government (1952-58) had populist aspects, at least in the first two years.²¹ Nonetheless, until the 1960s, Chile's political system generally distinguished itself from its Latin

and Reform of the State in Latin America (Amsterdam: THELA Thesis, 2002). One exception to Chile's exclusion is Erick D. Langer and Elena Muñoz (eds.), *Contemporary Indigenous Movements in Latin America* (Wilmington, Delaware: Jaguar Books on Latin America, No.25, 2003).

¹⁹ Jara, *Legislación indigenista de Chile*, p. 20.

²⁰ See Chapter Two of this thesis, p. 131.

²¹ Florencia E. Mallon, 'Decoding the Parchments of the Latin American Nation-State: Peru, Mexico and Chile in Comparative Perspective', in James Dunkerley (ed.), *Studies in the Formation of the Nation-State in Latin America* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 2002), pp. 13-53; Jean Grugel, 'Populism and the Political System in Chile – *Ibañismo* (1952-1958)', *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 11: 2 (1992), pp. 169-186.

American counterparts by operating on the basis of what has become known as the 'compromise state', which allowed for the participation of left wing parties so long as they refrained from excessively radical demands.²² This 'gentlemen's agreement' prevented the passage of any major land reform before the 1960s. It also supported elite efforts to perpetuate a conservative, hispanicised version of Chilean-ness. That the latter was the dominant discourse of national identity for the best part of the twentieth century, however, did not mean that it went uncontested. Nor did its dominance mean that it was entirely consistent either in its articulation or in its practices.

Similarly, while it is true that *indigenismo* was not as prominent in Chile as it was in countries such as Mexico and Peru, where *indigenistas* played a key role in identity debates from the 1920s onwards, it would be wrong to infer that such ideas were entirely absent or insignificant. Governments in Chile may not have embraced idealised images of pre-Columbian civilisations as earnestly as their Mexican or Peruvian counterparts, but many Chilean novelists, poets, artists and musicians incorporated *indigenista* narratives into their work.²³ That two of these were internationally acclaimed Nobel Prize winners – Gabriela Mistral and Pablo Neruda – meant that their writings on the subject were unlikely to go unnoticed.²⁴ Jorge

²² Mallon, 'Decoding the Parchments...'; Paul Drake, 'Chile, 1930-1958', in Leslie Bethell (ed.), *Chile Since Independence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University State, 1993), pp. 87-128.

²³ José Donoso, Luis Durand, Joaquín Edwards, Víctor Jara, Baldomero Lillo, Samuel Lillo, Reinaldo Lomboy, Gabriela Mistral, Pablo Neruda, Nicanor Parra, Violeta Parra, Antonio Quintana, Pablo de Rokha and Víctor Domingo Silva all expressed a concern for indigenous peoples in Chile. For an analysis of some of these authors' work from a Mapuche perspective see Ariel Antillanca and César Loncón, *Entre el mito y la realidad: El pueblo mapuche en la literatura mapuche* (Santiago: Ediciones LOM, 1998).

²⁴ There is a great deal of literature available on the *indigenismo* of Mistral and Neruda. Both have been widely praised for protesting against the social and economic discrimination suffered by indigenous peoples, denouncing the falsehood of the elite's Europeanised version of Chilean nationality, and exalting indigenous cultures as a key component of the (*mestizo*) national community. Jaime Valdivieso's *Señores y Ovejas Negras, Chile: un mito y su ruptura* (Santiago: Ediciones LOM, 2000), pp. 79-108, is perhaps the most recent example of such an approach. Mistral's representation of the Mapuche, however, was highly problematic; there was little consistency in her declared views on the subject for these not only changed over time, but also seemed to depend on who her listeners or readers were. Most literature on Mistral fails to acknowledge the apparent contradictions in her narrative. One exception is Licia Fiol-Matta, who lent toward the other extreme, arguing that Mistral was a racial supremacist, although she provided very little evidence to support such claims. See *A Queer Mother for the Nation: The State and Gabriela Mistral* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002). To resolve the contradictions in

Larraín recently argued that those interested in the “indigenous question” in Chile did not form a movement but instead constituted exceptions to the general rule.²⁵ While I agree that Chile had no *indigenista* movement, the evidence presented in this thesis suggests that cultural *indigenismo* gained many more adherents among Chilean intellectuals than Larraín, who considered only academia, have acknowledged.²⁶ The variety of ways in which *indigenista* discourses operated in twentieth-century Chile, how they negotiated with or were incorporated into official ideologies (even if only at a minimal level), therefore merit further discussion.

Exploring key terms

The central task of this thesis is discourse analysis. I understand discourse in Foucauldian terms as constitutive of power, not merely reflective of it. Rather than an abstract term or idea, discourse is invested in decisions, institutions, practices and legal sanctions that make a difference to people’s lives. The link to my thesis is clear: dominant discourses of nationhood have affected the social, political, legal and economic reality of Mapuche people in Chile. However, as Foucault argued, discourses should not be seen as wholly cohesive, since they contain within them conflicting sets of statements. My thesis develops this idea, examining the internal inconsistencies and contradictions of dominant discourses of Chilean nationhood. More importantly, Foucault understood discourse not only as an instrument and effect of power but also as a hindrance: a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. The emergence of Mapuche nationalist discourses in opposition to those propagated by the Chilean state will be analysed within this framework.

Mistral’s discourse – which requires a literary rather than historical analysis – was beyond the aims of my work. The main point to note here is that Mistral and Neruda are national icons, and as such they are open to appropriation by different sectors of Chilean society. Particularly fascinating are the different ways in which Mapuche writers have responded to Mistral and Neruda (their writings and *personas*) to support their own version of history, and this will be explored briefly in Chapter Four of my thesis.

²⁵ Jorge Larraín, *Identidad chilena* (Santiago: Ediciones LOM, 2001), p. 232.

²⁶ Larraín mentioned Ricardo Latcham, Alejandro Lipschutz, Rolf Foerster and José Bengoa, describing them as academics dedicated to the “indigenous question”.

This thesis aims to make the competing discourses and symbolic representations of Mapuche and Chilean identities emerge in all their complexity. In exploring this aspect of nationalism, my work has been greatly influenced by Peter Wade, whose study of Colombia highlighted the way in which music generated rather than merely expressed ideas of nationhood.²⁷ It also showed how art forms were linked to and could therefore help us to understand hegemonic political practices. “[C]onstruction and representation of national identities”, he argued, “is something organised by dominant groups in a class society but which resonates well beyond those groups.”²⁸ According to Wade, the dominance of certain ideas depends not just on their connection with dominant social forces, but also on their resonance with real aspects of people’s lived experience. Hence it is important to explore how ideas are disseminated and how they become relevant to people.

One of the most enduring scripts of official identity discourses in twentieth-century Chile was *mestizaje*. Indeed, it was the master narrative of nationhood in Chile, as it was throughout much of Latin America.²⁹ In its simplest formulation, *mestizaje* is the idea and practice of mixture. Traditionally, *mestizaje* was promoted as an inclusive and unifying ideology, which sought to incorporate previously marginalised groups (such as indigenous cultures) into the national collective. However, it often involved exclusion as well as inclusion. Binary conceptions of the term focusing, for example, on the mixture between the Spanish *conquistadores* and indigenous peoples, excluded other groups such as blacks or Chinese immigrants. Moreover, as emphasised by Appelbaum’s *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, twentieth-century ideologies of *mestizaje* were frequently combined with a powerful ideology of whitening; instead of being a neutral process of fusion, it implied the purging of indigeneity from the national body politic in favour of

²⁷ Peter Wade, *Music, Race and Nation: Música Tropical in Colombia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²⁹ Richard Graham (ed.) *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870- 1940* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990); Nancy Leys Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); Peter Wade, ‘Images of Latin American mestizaje and the politics of comparison’, *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 23: 3 (July 2004).

“whiter” *mestizos*.³⁰ In this sense, *mestizaje* meant the elimination (rather than the acceptance or glorification) of difference.

Mestizaje must also be understood in terms of how it related to other constructs such as race, class and culture. For some, *mestizaje* was interpreted as a purely biological process. For others, *mestizaje* was conceived mainly in socio-economic terms: it was only “the poor” who were deemed to be *mestizo* and by climbing the social ladder it was possible to become “less *mestizo*”. Since the late 1980s official identity discourses have recast *mestizaje* as multiculturalism, and scholarship on Latin America has often accepted this at face value. However, as Wade has argued, over-optimistic assessments of mixture and hybridity need reminding of “some home truths about racism” in the region.³¹ On the one hand, *mestizaje* relativises cultural identities and demonstrates the flexibility of racial categorisations.³² Yet the idea of mixing depends on prior assumptions of initial “pure” identities, that were somehow recognisably different from each other before they mixed. Hence, rather than undoing essentialisms (which provide the basis for racism) *mestizaje* often reinforces them.³³

Both as a discourse and in its practices, *indigenismo* was as multifaceted as *mestizaje*. Some *indigenistas*, such as the Mexican archaeologist Manuel Gamio, were integrationist and culturalist in outlook, envisaging Indians as bearers of a heroic past, exalting them as the founding fathers of the nation, but failing to identify any positive attributes in their contemporary ways of life. Others, such as the renowned Peruvian intellectual José Carlos Mariátegui, were more class-conscious and understood the “indigenous question” as a political and social issue. Far from glorifying a bygone golden age, this version of *indigenismo* was firmly linked to contemporary questions of land and power. As this thesis will show, both of these *indigenista* narratives were being debated and reshaped to fit national circumstances

³⁰ Appelbaum, *Race and Nation*, p. 6.

³¹ Wade, ‘Images of Latin American mestizaje...’, p. 356.

³² Marisol de la Cadena, *Indigenous mestizos: Race and the Politics of Representation in Cuzco, 1919-1991* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000).

in twentieth-century Chile, often as an alternative nation-building project to that advanced by the state. Not only did *indigenismo* have its adherents, so too did *indianismo* – a less paternalistic movement which emerged in the 1960s and exalted ethnic and cultural difference instead of sameness, and in which – unlike *indigenismo* – many indigenous leaders and intellectuals themselves participated.

Theories of nationalism and national identity

My work has also been influenced by recent theoretical developments in studies of nationalism and national identity. The debate as to whether nations are historically embedded in ethnic communities (as “perennialists” or “primordialists” claim) or intrinsically related to modernity and the growth of the bureaucratic state (as “modernists” maintain) is now a rather stale one.³⁴ As Nicola Miller argues, an either/or approach provides only a partial answer to the question of national identity in Latin America.³⁵ While it is now generally agreed that national identities are constructed or imagined, there is little doubt that both dominant and minority nationalisms in the region continue to draw heavily on notions of a shared culture and ethnic roots in their image projections.

Like most historians of Latin American nationalisms, I found Benedict Anderson’s insistence that the nation was representative of an idea rather than an existent

³³ Wade, ‘Images of Latin American mestizaje...’, p. 363.

³⁴ Relevant works by perennialists include: John Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1987); Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwells, 1986); *National Identity* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991); *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era* (1995); *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism* (1998). Relevant works by modernists include: John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983); Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.) *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983). Of these scholars Hobsbawm is the only one to have written on Latin America. See ‘Nationalism and National Identity in Latin America’, in Bouda Eternad, Jean Baton and Thomas David (eds.), *Pour une histoire économique et sociale internationale: mélanges offerts à Paul Bairoch* (Geneva: Editions Passé Présent, 1995).

³⁵ Nicola Miller, *In the Shadow of the State: Intellectuals and the Quest for National Identity in Twentieth-Century Spanish America* (London: Verso, 1999), p. 40.

political entity particularly useful.³⁶ However, despite the wide acclaim he received for his attempts to modify overly structural explanations of the emergence of nationalism in the region, Anderson's work has also received much criticism.³⁷ Perhaps its most significant limitation was its failure to understand race as constitutive of the process of nation building. This was a point underlined by Appelbaum's aforementioned volume on *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*,³⁸ which represented an important advance in its attempt to go beyond both the top-down and bottom-up approaches to identity creation and projection. If the first allows little room for conceptualising national identity as heterogeneous, contested and fractured, the second underestimates the capacity of the state or elites to produce identity discourses that are internalised by a population. My analysis of the participation of Mapuche writers, academics, teachers and museum staff in identity debates seeks to avoid both extremes, and to make a contribution to the scholarship on subordinated peoples' participation in the national, regional and local reproduction of ideas about race and nation.

Assessing the literature on Chilean nationalism

Until recently, few Chilean historians had analysed the development of nationalism in twentieth-century Chile.³⁹ That is not to say that Chilean historians and other intellectuals have not discussed the meanings of Chilean-ness. As Chapter One will show, *chilenidad* was a prime concern of many twentieth-century academics.

³⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1983).

³⁷ See, for example, Claudio Lomnitz, 'Nationalism as a Practical System: Benedict Anderson's Theory of Nationalism from the Vantage Point of Spanish America', in Miguel Angel Centeno and Fernando López-Alves (eds.), *The Other Mirror: Grand Theory through the Lens of Latin America*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001, pp.329-359.

³⁸ Thomas Holt in Appelbaum *et al.*, *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, pp. vii-xiv. Many other scholars have also recognised the validity of the link between race and nation in Latin America. See Marisol de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizo*; Richard Graham (ed.), *The Idea of Race in Latin America*; Florencia Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Nancy Priscilla Naro (ed.), *Blacks, Coloreds and National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (London: ILAS, 2003); Nancy Leys Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics*; Peter Wade, *Music, Race and Nation*.

³⁹ A notable exception is Mario Góngora. His *Ensayo sobre la noción del estado en Chile en los siglos XIX y XX* (Santiago: Ediciones de la Ciudad, 1981), defends the idea of the state as a central element in the history of the Chilean nation and its contemporary existence. However, this text is not

However, here their writings are used as a primary source, for they tended to be prescriptive rather than analytical. Most of the work during the last thirty years has been written from a psychological, political or sociological, rather than historical, perspective.⁴⁰ Furthermore, although Chilean scholars acknowledge that national identity and the concepts of race and ethnicity with which it interacts are all imagined constructs, many continue to focus on questions such as “what is Chilean?” or “what makes us Chilean?”, as if there were an objective answer to be found in the country’s geography, say, or its climate.⁴¹

Anglophone studies of Chilean nationalism are also few in number, and vary greatly in their approaches. A pioneering work on the subject was Ernst Halperin’s *Nationalism and Communism in Chile* (1965): a helpful overview of the debates and rivalry between the Chilean Communist and Socialist Parties, their responses to European fascism and their relationships with Cuba, China and the Soviet Union.⁴² However, by confining his study largely to the economic realm, Halperin interpreted leftist nationalism in almost exclusively anti-imperialist terms. The reader learns about what leftist Chilean nationalism opposed but gains little insight into the Left’s own understandings of *chilenidad*, because its cultural, ethnic and political expressions were left unexamined. Paul Drake’s study on socialism and populism in Chile (1978) attempted to fill this gap by comparing the rhetoric of leftist parties in Chile to that of their counterparts in other Latin American countries.⁴³ Drake said very little on their incorporation of ethnic discourses of nationhood, although he did remark on the impact of Haya de la Torre’s Peruvian APRA party – particularly its

so much a historical overview of the development of nationalism and national identity in Chile, as a nationalist thesis in itself.

⁴⁰ Hernán Godoy, *El carácter chileno* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1976); Bernardo Subercaseaux, *Chile. Un país moderno?* (Santiago: Ediciones B., 1997); Tomás Moulian, *Chile actual: Anatomía de un mito* (Santiago: Ediciones LOM-ARCIS, 1997). Jorge Larraín, *Identidad chilena* (Santiago: Ediciones LOM, 2001).

⁴¹ See for example, Cristián Gazmuri, ‘Algunos rasgos de la identidad chilena en perspectiva pretérita’ in Sonia Montecino (ed.), *Revisitando Chile: Identidades, Mitos e Historias* (Santiago: Cuadernos Bicentenario, 2003); Gonzalo Rojas Sánchez, ‘Liderazgos fuertes, abandono de los sectores medios y expectativas frustradas como rasgos de la identidad nacional’ and Gonzalo Vial Correa ‘Los elementos de la identidad nacional’ in Angel Soto (ed.), *Chile en el Siglo XXI: Camino al Bicentenario* (Santiago: Universidad de los Andes, 2003).

⁴² Ernst Halperin, *Nationalism and Communism in Chile*.

use of Indo-American symbolism (idealistic images of pre-Columbian societies) – on the Chilean Socialists.⁴⁴ Overall, however, Drake conformed to traditional approaches to identity debates in Chile, claiming the country was “unsuited to put such an emphasis on the Indian.”⁴⁵

Halperin’s emphasis on the economic priorities of Chilean nationalism was echoed in *Immigration and Nationalism: Argentina and Chile, 1890-1914*, by Carl Solberg (1970), which traced the connection between debates over immigration, intellectuals’ rejection of cosmopolitanism and liberal positivism, and the rise of nationalism in Chile and Argentina.⁴⁶ The two countries’ experiences of immigration, however, were very different, as was the form consequently taken by their nationalist discourses. By 1914 almost thirty percent of the Argentine population was foreign born.⁴⁷ The majority of these immigrants were unskilled workers who swelled the ranks of the urban poor. Nationalist discourses of the time, projected by writers such as Ricardo Rojas and Leopoldo Lugones, responded to these transformations by romanticising so-called “traditional” rural Argentina and nostalgically invoking the figure of the *gaucho* (plainsman) as representative of a bygone golden age. Appropriated by the political elite, the *gaucho* became the archetype of *argentinidad*.

In contrast, immigration never became a major issue in Chile, at least for the country’s ruling elite. According to Solberg, this lack of concern was explained by the middle class character of Chilean immigration and the relatively low number of immigrants (by 1907 only 4.1% of the total population was foreign born).⁴⁸ Levels of immigration were therefore never sufficiently high to challenge the established political and social structures. There were notable voices of dissent among middle class intellectuals, such as Nicolás Palacios, who resented the government’s

⁴³ Paul Drake, *Socialism and Populism in Chile*.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 140, p. 145, p. 255.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁴⁶ Carl Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism: Chile and Argentina, 1890-1914* (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1970).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

favourable treatment of foreigners (see Chapter One), but such critics were often appeased with practical reforms such as welfare provisions and laws limiting foreign colonisation of agricultural lands. From Solberg's perspective then, nascent nationalism in Chile was more economic than cultural. The elite, he said, produced no archetype of the national character. Nor did Chileans make demands for nationalistic education or government sponsored programmes of cultural nationalism.⁴⁹

Patrick Barr-Melej has commented that both Halperin and Solberg left Chilean nationalism's "rich complexity largely untapped".⁵⁰ His *Reforming Chile* (2001) sought to redress the balance, focusing on the middle-classes – a sector of society that has attracted little attention in the historiography of nationalism in Latin America – and their role in the rise of cultural nationalism between the 1890s and 1940s. Countering Solberg's arguments, Barr-Melej provided a detailed account of the manifestations of nationalism in the state education system and presented evidence to confirm progressive middle class reformers' influential role in establishing government-sponsored programmes of cultural nationalism. Barr-Melej acknowledged that Solberg's study of Chilean nationalism ended just as the middle classes were becoming more prominent in national affairs (1914). However, a number of Barr-Melej's sources dated back to the early 1900s, thus providing evidence against Solberg's claim that no such changes were occurring in education at the time.

Reforming Chile also offered an abundance of information on the emergence of *criollismo* (a literary trend, which saw nation-ness not in the cosmopolitan elite in but in the countryside, among the peasants) and the changing content of school textbooks (particularly their incorporation of more popularised images of *chilenidad*). He thereby usefully illustrated the similarities between the Chilean and

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁵⁰ Patrick Barr-Melej, *Reforming Chile: Cultural Politics, Nationalism and the Rise of the Middle Classes* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), p. 16.

Argentine experiences. However, Barr-Melej's overarching thesis – that the middle classes and reformism were intrinsically linked – is problematic. In 1963 Frederick Pike offered a very different account of events, arguing that the Chilean middle classes' social, political and economic thinking mirrored that of the aristocracy.⁵¹ It was their opposition to any radical changes, he claimed, that explained Chile's history of political stability as well as its subsequent stagnation in the 1950s/1960s. Of the two, Pike's interpretation still seems more persuasive. Barr-Melej underestimated the staunchly conservative nature of Chilean politics during the Parliamentary Republic, asserting rather than convincingly demonstrating the hegemonic status of the middle class reformists' national project, which was significant but would be better described as counter-hegemonic. Moreover, Barr-Melej's account implied that middle-class reformists were the only group to arm themselves with discourses of cultural nationalism in the early 1900s, when it is clear that conservative sectors of society were also involved in such developments. As will be illustrated in Chapter One, Barr-Melej's evidence does not fully support the claims he made.

Also questionable were Barr-Melej's discussions about race. He contrasted Chile to the Andes and Mesoamerica, where "the autonomy of Indian villages remained relatively intact until after independence", and where "a large number of campesinos are [still] predominantly, and many times exclusively, of pure American Indian descent".⁵² The notion of purity is in itself highly problematic, although more relevant to my thesis is his argument that such purity and consequent ethnic divisions were less prominent in early twentieth-century Chile. Implying that these divisions had been eliminated through *mestizaje*, Barr-Melej reproduced the conventional view about Chile's indigenous peoples and their place in national society. Later, he highlighted the connection between Chilean *criollismo* and Andean *indigenismo*, but did not present the former as part of a continental

⁵¹ Frederick Pike, 'Aspects of Class Relations in Chile, 1850-1960', *Hispanic American Historical Review* 43 (February 1963), pp. 13-33.

⁵² Barr-Melej, *Reforming Chile*, p. 86.

indigenista tradition.⁵³ By framing the discussion thus, Barr-Melej endorsed much of the traditional historiography on Chilean nationalism and perpetuated notions of Chilean exceptionalism. According to the author, class was more significant than ethnicity as an identity marker in twentieth-century Chile. Social and cultural formations, he contended, could not be understood without addressing class.⁵⁴ The significance of class-based identities in twentieth-century Chile is not in doubt, but it is imperative to understand how such divisions were re-articulated through discourses of race and ethnicity. That the Mapuche or other indigenous peoples are rarely mentioned is also a serious limitation to Barr-Melej's account of reformists' efforts to popularise the "Chilean race".

These criticisms aside, however, Barr-Melej's work made an important contribution by widening the field of studies on nationalism in Chile. It moved beyond both the economic focus of the 1960s and 1970s and the tendency of historians in and of Chile – at least since 1973 – to equate nationalism with right-wing authoritarianism or fascism.⁵⁵ Such an approach not only sidelines other discourses and expressions of nationalism, but also fails to explore fully the content of national imaginings propagated by the Right. By focusing solely on the anti-Marxism and authoritarianism of the Pinochet regime, for example, studies often overlook the roles allocated to different sectors of society (such as indigenous communities) in its version of *chilenidad*. Mario Sznajder is an exception here: a recent work of his did imply that nationalism was an intrinsically right-wing project, but it highlighted specific elements of the military regime's national narrative, such as patriotism, victorious wars, western Christian values, political stability, economic prosperity, legalism and the National Security Doctrine.⁵⁶ Sznajder has also produced some

⁵³ Barr-Melej's analysis included Chilean writers such as Luis Durand, who clearly demonstrated a concern for the Mapuche (see *La Frontera*), yet this aspect of his work was not mentioned.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

⁵⁵ e.g., Cristián Cox (ed.) *Pensamiento nacionalista* (Santiago: Gabriela Mistral, 1974); Mario Sznajder, 'Globalization and Limited Democracy through the Mirror of History in Chile', in Luis Roniger and Carlos H. Waisman (eds.) *Globality and Multiple Modernities: Comparative North American and Latin American Perspectives* (Brighton and Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2002); Verónica Valdivia Ortiz de Zárte, 'Camino al golpe', *El nacionalismo en los años del Frente Popular, 1938-1952* (Santiago: Universidad Católica Blas Cañas, 1995).

⁵⁶ See 'Globality and Multiple Modernities', *op. cit.*

insightful work on the relationship between Chilean identity discourses and the neo-liberal policies initiated by the military government.⁵⁷

In her book *In the Shadow of the State* (1999), Nicola Miller noted the Pinochet regime's reinforcement of a conservative elitist version of national identity, in opposition to the more popularised versions circulating in the 1960s.⁵⁸ However, as she focused on an earlier period, little detail was provided about the military's version of nationalism. Her main point – in stark contrast to Barr-Melej – was that “conservatives maintained a virtual monopoly on Chilean national identity” throughout the twentieth century.⁵⁹ As a result of conservative hegemony, Miller argued, “there was little discussion of *chilenidad*”, and thus she portrayed Chile's historical experience as very different from that of Mexico and Argentina. My evidence does not refute the importance of the conservative view of history in twentieth-century Chile. Indeed, it confirms its enduring influence by underlining the importance of *decadentismo* (anti-liberal nationalism, which first emerged in the early 1900s) and the way in which such theories of national decline were continually re-articulated during the twentieth-century. However, it also confirms the presence of alternative versions, particularly in regard to Chile's indigenous peoples and ethnic-based formulations of nationhood, if only to understand how the former interacted with and often subverted these. My own research suggests that identity discourses based on land and nature had a stronger presence than Miller has allowed for. It also argues that national identity *was* discussed in terms of *chilenidad* (i.e., in cultural rather than political terms) at various points during the twentieth century.

Revising the role of the Mapuche in the Chilean nation

Since the 1980s there has been a dramatic increase in both the number of studies undertaken on Mapuche history and those written by Mapuche academics. Perhaps

⁵⁷ Mario Sznajder, ‘The Chilean Jaguar as a Symbol of a New Collective Identity? Between Neo-Liberalism and Limited Democracy’, in Luis Roniger and Tamar Herzog, *The Collective and the Public in Latin America, Cultural Identities and Political Order* (Brighton and Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2000).

⁵⁸ Miller, *In the Shadow of the State*, p. 253.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.236

the most influential has been *Historia del Pueblo Mapuche* by Chilean scholar José Bengoa (1985).⁶⁰ Rather than reducing the Mapuche to a brief appendix to Chilean history, Bengoa analysed Mapuche history in its own right, highlighting the internal dynamism of Mapuche society. Instead of isolating Mapuche history from that of the Chilean state, however, Bengoa managed to convey the complexity of the relationship between the two. He communicated Chileans' divergent views on the occupation campaigns (1860s-1880s) quoting from parliamentary debates and newspaper commentaries. He also used oral testimonies to reconstruct the responses of Mapuche community leaders, many of whom fought alongside or at least aided the troops in their mission to "civilise" Araucanía.⁶¹

Since 1985, Bengoa has written several other widely acclaimed books on Mapuche history.⁶² Nevertheless, some aspects of his work diminish his overall achievements. His *Historia de los antiguos mapuches del sur* (2003), for example, contained notable elements of essentialism. In seeking to prove the falseness of stereotypical images of Mapuche culture as barbarian and bellicose, by providing a wealth of evidence to the contrary, Bengoa reinforced the idea that certain characteristics were real while others were not. Moreover, by concentrating on the notion of validity in relation to identity images, he sidelined more pertinent questions regarding the production of these images and how they were received and contested.

Jorge Pinto's work on Mapuche history is more directly linked to the process of imagining Chilean nationhood. His most recent book has prioritised the nineteenth century, detailing the shift from an inclusive national identity in the early decades to

⁶⁰ José Bengoa, *Historia del Pueblo Mapuche: Siglos XIX y XX* (Santiago: Ediciones Sur, 1985).

⁶¹ Bengoa has been praised for his willingness to use oral testimonies to complement the histories told in written documents, as many Chilean scholars had hitherto avoided using such sources. However, he has also been criticised for the occasional indiscriminate or anachronistic use of historical evidence, such as using quotations from nineteenth century documents as descriptive of sixteenth century society. See Kristin Jones, 'The Southern Margins (1573-1882)' in Frank Salomon and S. Schwarz, *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas* Vol.III, Part II (1999), p. 185.

⁶² José Bengoa, *Quinquén. 100 años de historia pehuenche* (Santiago: Editorial CESOC, 1992); *Historia de un conflicto. El Estado y los mapuches en el siglo XX* (Santiago: Planeta, 1999); *La emergencia indígena en América Latina* (Santiago: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000); *Historia de los antiguos mapuches del sur* (Santiago: Catalonia, 2003).

a more exclusive version in the mid- to late-1800s.⁶³ Pinto's timeframe therefore coincides with that posited by Eric Hobsbawm in his broader analysis of Latin American nationalism,⁶⁴ but it develops a more nuanced approach, noting the ways in which discourses and practices of inclusion and exclusion overlapped.⁶⁵ In other works dedicated to literature, Pinto contested the view that Mapuche culture and society had been continually written out of Chilean history, highlighting representations of the Mapuche in nineteenth-century literature as acknowledgement of their continuing presence in national society (although such recognition usually relied on stereotypical images).⁶⁶ Like Bengoa, he has also investigated the motives behind the Chilean state's decision to invade Mapuche territory.⁶⁷ In its revision of conventional understandings of nineteenth-century identity debates, Pinto's work provides a useful backdrop to the present thesis.⁶⁸

The most succinct account of changing representations of the Mapuche, from the colonial period through to the late twentieth-century, can be found in an article by Stephen Lewis published in the *Radical History Review* in 1994.⁶⁹ Lewis examined

⁶³ Jorge Pinto, *La formación del Estado y la nación, y el pueblo mapuche: De la inclusión a la exclusión* (Santiago: DIBAM, 2000).

⁶⁴ Hobsbawm has argued that, from independence through to the mid-nineteenth century the nation was thought of in Enlightenment terms, as a union of individuals living together in a shared territory. With the consolidation of liberal rule in the mid-1800s, the nation became identified with progress (understood as modernisation through economic development and growth of state power) and membership was limited to those who were committed to such ideals. Hobsbawm's third and last stage relates to the rise of populism and official attempts to include the masses in the nation. See Hobsbawm, 'Nationalism and Nationality in Latin America'.

⁶⁵ Pinto also argued this point in 'Del antiindigenismo al proindigenismo en Chile en el siglo XIX', in Jorge Pinto (ed.), *Del Discurso Colonial al Pro-indigenismo. Ensayos de Historia Latinoamericana*. (Temuco: Ediciones Universidad de la Frontera, 1998), pp. 85-118.

⁶⁶ See, for example, 'La ocupación de la Araucanía a través de historiadores, novelistas, poetas y dirigentes mapuches', in Universidad Metropolitana, *Investigando y Educando: Estudios para el análisis y la aplicación* (Santiago: Ediciones LOM, 2001).

⁶⁷ In contrast to Arturo Leiva's *Primer avance a la Araucanía, Angol 1862* (Temuco, 1984), which claimed that regionalist uprisings in the south were the trigger cause, Pinto provided a more structural economic explanation, focusing on Chile's export economy and its need to exploit the fertile lands of Araucanía. See 'Crisis económica y expansión territorial: la ocupación de la Araucanía en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX', *Revista de Estudios Sociales* 72 (1992), pp. 85-126.

⁶⁸ Pinto's work has inspired other Chilean academics to pursue similar lines of research. See, for example, Patricio Herrera, 'La cuestión de Arauco: Un problema de dignidad nacional durante el siglo XIX', in Manuel Loyola and Sergio Grez (eds.), *Los proyectos nacionales en el pensamiento político y social chileno del siglo XIX* (Santiago: Ediciones UCSH, 2002).

⁶⁹ Stephen Lewis, 'Myth and History of Chile's Araucanians', *Radical History Review* 58 (Winter 1994), pp. 113-139.

the dual myth of the noble/ignoble savage in colonial literature, and went on to explore how such imagery was juggled by nineteenth-century elites to suit their changing political agendas. He then extended his analysis to the myth of Mapuche non-existence during the twentieth century, particularly during the Pinochet era (1973-1990). Because the author's focus was the mythology itself, however, it was beyond the remit of his work to look at the ways in which this was contested. Mario Sznajder, mentioned above, has recently reiterated Lewis's overview of the changing images of the Mapuche since the colonial period.⁷⁰ In relation to the twentieth century, Sznajder commented on other governments as well as that of Pinochet, but concentrated on their political policies and how these engaged with the "Mapuche issue", rather than symbolic representations. The brevity of Sznajder's summary meant it inevitably generalised about different governments and overlooked many of the internal inconsistencies of their identity discourses. Taking the accounts by Lewis and Sznajder as a starting point, my work offers a more detailed exploration of the way in which mythical images of the Mapuche changed during the twentieth century. It highlights the multiplicity of images that existed at different points and it also explores Mapuche agency in such identity projections.

The work with which this thesis most directly engages, however, is that of Florencia Mallon. In her comparative account of the historiographical traditions of Peru, Mexico and Chile, Mallon usefully brought the state back into studies on Latin American nationalism.⁷¹ In Chile's case, the importance of the state in the imagined construction of nationhood has been the subject of recent and intense debate. Traditionally, most Chilean historians have agreed on the success and viability of the state-directed national project and many still support this modernist interpretation today. Sol Serrano, for example, has written extensively on the public education system and its fashioning of civil society during the nineteenth century.⁷² Alfredo

⁷⁰ Mario Sznajder, 'Who is Chilean? The Mapuche, the Huaso and the Roto as Basic Symbols of Chilean Collective Identity' in Luis Roniger and Mario Sznajder (eds.) *Constructing Collective Identities and Shaping Public Spheres* (Brighton and Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 1998), pp. 202-205.

⁷¹ Mallon, 'Decoding the Parchments...'

⁷² See, for example, Sol Serrano, *Universidad y Nación* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1994).

Jocelyn-Holt, on the contrary, has disputed the “strong-state” version of nineteenth century history, claiming that political debate was dominated by Chile’s oligarchic elite; for Jocelyn-Holt, this sector of society constructed and therefore controlled the state.⁷³ As remarked by Mallon, the problem with Jocelyn-Holt’s line of argument was that it ignored the “complex and multi-layered nature of state institutions and state power”.⁷⁴ This thesis aims to rise to the challenge set by Mallon, trying to find some middle ground between the opposing narratives of the state constructing the nation and society constructing the state. I do this by exploring the variety of ways in which Mapuche individuals and organisations have interacted with Chilean state institutions.

As a result of local archive research and extensive interviewing, Mallon has also produced some fascinating studies of Mapuche communities in southern Chile, especially one called Nicolás Aillió, which participated in the illegal land seizures of the early 1970s.⁷⁵ As outlined by Mallon, participation in revolutionary politics led to many internal divisions in the community and had significant consequences for the community once the military regime took power. In *When a Flower is Reborn*, Mallon combined her own research with the testimony of Isolde Reuque in an account of Mapuche cultural and political activism during the dictatorship and its development since this period.⁷⁶ As a feminist leader working within a male-dominated sphere, Reuque’s testimony provides a useful gendered perspective on tensions within the Mapuche movement, helping to underline the diversity of Mapuche culture. My own work draws on Mallon’s discussion of Mapuche participation in national politics as part of the context for thinking about how discourses of Chilean nationhood have changed during the twentieth century.

⁷³ Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt, *El peso de la noche*.

⁷⁴ Mallon, ‘Decoding the Parchments...’, p. 45.

⁷⁵ Florencia Mallon, ‘Bearing Witness in Hard Times: Ethnography and *Testimonio* in a Post-revolutionary Age’, in Gilbert Joseph, *Reclaiming the Political in Latin American History: Essays from the North* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001), pp. 311-354.

⁷⁶ Rosa Isolde Reuque Paillalef, *When a flower is reborn. Life and times of a Mapuche feminist* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002). Mallon edited the text, translated it from Spanish into English and wrote the Introduction.

Both in Chile and abroad anthropology has had a significant role to play in opening up different avenues of historical research on indigenous activism. Indeed, until the late-twentieth century indigenous history was monopolised by anthropology (in historical studies it remained, at best, a marginalised sub-set of social history). Many of the anthropological studies of Mapuche rural communities were written by foreign scholars and adopted a highly structuralist or functionalist approach, analysing the social structure of the communities within a field of cultural study often unrelated to the wider political processes.⁷⁷ With the exception of Louis Faron, they largely subscribed to the notion that Mapuche culture was doomed to disappear once “modernity” had fully penetrated the communities. Indeed, this was often the reason for their interest in the Mapuche in the first place.

Since the 1980s, the number of Mapuche writing on their people’s situation in Chile has greatly increased. The great majority of their works have been published on the Internet, although more recently they have also appeared in print in several academic journals, as well as edited volumes on ethnic politics in Chile.⁷⁸ It is also the case that there has been a rapprochement between anthropologists and historians: anthropology has incorporated a more historical perspective and history has widened its approach to include all sectors of society as historical actors. Such academic shifts have helped to produce a new version of the national narrative in Chile. Some studies, though, seem to have located Mapuche history and society entirely within a

⁷⁷ Mischa Titiev, *Araucanian Culture in Transition* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1951); Louis Faron, *Mapuche Social Structure: Institutional reintegration in a patrilineal society of central Chile* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961); *Hawks of the Sun: Mapuche Morality and its Ritual Attributes* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964); *The Mapuche Indians of Chile* (New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1968); Milan Stuchlik, *Rasgos de la sociedad mapuche contemporanea* (Santiago: Ediciones Nueva Universidad, 1974), *Life on a Half Share: Mechanisms of social recruitment among the Mapuche of Southern Chile* (New York: St Martins Press, 1976).

⁷⁸ See, for example, José Marimán, ‘Movimiento Mapuche y Propuestas de Autonomía en la Decada Post-Dictadura’, 1997 (<http://www.xs4all.nl/~rehue/art/jmar4a.html>); Pedro Cayuqueo, ‘La autodeterminación mapuche en el marco de un Estado multinacional’, 1999 (<http://www.soc.uu.se/mapuche>); Salvador Millaleo, ‘Ser/No Ser, Mapuche o Mestizo, 2002 (same web site). Commentaries by Domingo Namuncura, Edgardo Lienlaf, Rosamel Millaman and José Quidel were included in José Aylwin, *Políticas públicas y pueblo mapuche* (Temuco: Instituto de Estudios Indígenas de la Universidad de la Frontera, 1999). Academic journals that have recently published articles by Mapuche intellectuals include the *Revista de la Universidad de Humanismo Cristiano* (Santiago); *PERSPECTIVAS en política, economía y gestión* (Universidad de Chile, Santiago); and *Revista de Historia Indígena* (Universidad de Chile, Santiago).

framework of repression, casting this people as passive victims of the state's authoritarian, racist and violent practices.⁷⁹ They raise many valid points, but such an approach also serves as a denial of Mapuche agency. There are, however, other anthropologists and historians who have avoided such reductionist approaches, offering illuminating accounts of the problems and dilemmas faced by Mapuche communities and political organisations in Chile.⁸⁰ While this thesis does not investigate indigenous political activism, it nonetheless contributes to the growing scholarship on the subject by analysing the changing representations of the Mapuche and the competing discourses of nationhood that have provided the space for the political transformations taking place

Current political context

Historical re-interpretations of nation building have necessarily evolved in relation to changing contemporary politics. As Mapuche individuals and organisations have become both more visible and vocal in Chile's political debates so too have they been more fully incorporated into written histories.⁸¹ In 1993 Congress passed a new Indigenous Law recognising that eight different indigenous groups existed in Chile. However, official rhetoric promising to value Mapuche culture "as an integral part of [Chilean] nationality" and "fully recognise their political, social, economic and cultural rights" has been severely limited by the Concertación governments' commitment to neo-liberalism. This has allowed development projects in southern Chile to continue despite the threat they pose to several Mapuche communities in the

⁷⁹ Juan Carlos Gumucio Castellón, 'Ethnicity and the Development of Mapuche Society in Chile' in Jan-Ake Alvarsson, *Alternative Development in Latin America, Indigenous Strategies for Cultural Continuity in Societal Change*, Uppsala Research Reports in Cultural Anthropology 9 (1990).

⁸⁰ Sara McFall, *Keeping Identity in its Place: Culture and Politics among the Mapuche of Chile* (Oxford, PhD Thesis, 1998); José Bengoa, *Historia de un conflicto*; José Ancán, 'Lo urbano, un nuevo sector dentro de la sociedad mapuche contemporánea', *Pentukun* (1994); Rolf Foerster, 'Movimiento Etnico o Movimiento Etnonacional Mapuche?', *Revista de Crítica Cultural* 52/53: 18 (1999); Florencia Mallon, 'Cuando la amnesia se impone con sangre, el abuso se hace costumbre. El pueblo mapuche y el Estado chileno, 1881-1998', in Paul Drake and Iván Jaksic (eds.) *El modelo chileno: Democracia y desarrollo en los noventa* (Santiago: Ediciones LOM, 1999).

⁸¹ Several recent histories of Chile have noted the important role of Mapuche political organisations in the re-democratisation process, as well as the demands for reform that resulted from their participation. See 'Concertación: The Past in the Present', in Brian Loveman, *Chile. The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism*. Third Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Mallon, 'Cuando la amnesia...', in Drake and Jaksic (eds.), *El Modelo Chileno*, op. cit.; Sofia Correa et al., *Historia del Siglo XX Chileno: balance paradójico* (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 2001).

area.⁸² As a result, many Mapuche have become frustrated with democracy, a situation which has led to the emergence of more radical political movements such as the Co-ordinadora Arauco-Malleco and many violent confrontations between Mapuche activists and state security agents. As with other indigenous movements in Latin America, these Mapuche organisations do not propose the formation of their own independent state, but they do seek the recognition of their territory and a certain degree of autonomy. They also insist that the state acknowledge Chile's multinational reality, hence the new discourse of the "nación mapuche".⁸³ Any study of the cultural manifestations of ethnic identities has to be understood in the context of these broader political processes unravelling in Chile.

It is also important to appreciate Chile's contemporary ethnic conflict within the international context in which the related dilemmas, problems and identity discourses are played out. Both government policy towards the Mapuche and the strategic forms of resistance pursued by Mapuche political organisations in response are part of a bigger picture: the emergence of a variety of new social movements, re-democratisation, disillusionment with this process and a fundamental rethinking of state/civil society relations. Civil society and the state are no longer seen as oppositional, but rather as intrinsically entwined, and this is particularly relevant to the position of the Mapuche in Chile for their history is not only one of hostility and conflict with the state but also negotiation. Not all Mapuche people argue for the constitution of a "Mapuche nation". Indeed, many are pro-integration, thinking of themselves as Chilean. Whatever their political stance, the main point is that Mapuche people – as individuals, communities or political organisations – have always been engaged with the state, protesting against it, making demands of it and sometimes working within its institutions.

⁸² José Aylwin, *Ralco: Modernidad o etnocidio en territorio mapuche?* (Temuco: Instituto de Estudios Indígenas de la Universidad de la Frontera, 1998); Domingo Namuncura, *Ralco: represa o pobreza?* (Santiago: Ediciones LOM, 1999).

⁸³ Bengoa, *Historia de un conflicto*.

Sites of mediation

The changing place of the Mapuche (how they have been placed and placed themselves) is explored here in relation to key institutions of nation building in Chile – historiography, education, museums and literature. Such an approach draws on the work of Néstor García Canclini, who described these institutions as “sites of mediation”.⁸⁴ Examining Mapuche and Chilean identities as constructions imagined by these sites of mediation provides a way to go beyond the dualisms of rural/urban, centre/periphery and included/excluded that abound in the literature on Latin America’s indigenous peoples. García Canclini criticised neo-Gramscians’ reliance on the idea that all that is not hegemonic is subaltern, or vice versa, and emphasised the importance of rethinking the role of the popular within culturally hybrid societies. “Every construction of national heritages and legitimation narratives”, he argued, “is the result of selective, combinatory, and performative processes shaped by the struggles of social groups in their bids for hegemony.”⁸⁵ Alongside this struggle, however, there are also many instances of negotiation. Hence, it is difficult to talk of Chilean schools or museums imposing a uniform image of Chilean-ness or Mapuche-ness, given that many different people (such as students, parents, teachers, museum visitors and museum staff) are actively involved in creating and responding to the images projected by these institutions. However, the notion of “sites of mediation” as intersections of culture or “zones where narratives encounter and cross each other” also encapsulates the reality of power relations, because it recognises the very different social positions and histories of the actors involved. It thereby avoids the idealistic view that indigenous cultures are somehow able to negotiate with the state on an equal footing. Mapuche individuals’ presence in schools and museums, their appropriation of national icons, their use of poetry and engagement with dominant historiographies by no means guarantees that their perspectives on history and nationhood will be widely communicated or discussed.

⁸⁴ Key texts in which García Canclini developed this idea include *Consumers and Citizens. Globalisation and Multicultural Conflicts* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000) and *Culturas populares en el capitalismo*. 6th edn. (Mexico D.F.: Grijalbo, 2002).

⁸⁵ García Canclini, *Consumers and Citizens*, p. 81.

Periodisation

The timeframe of this thesis revolves around a series of turning points. Many major changes to representations of the Mapuche date from the 1990s, but my work also draws substantially upon shifts from the 1960s onwards, examining the governments of Frei Montalva, Allende and Pinochet. The 1960s were significant for several reasons. It was during this decade that far-reaching political and social reforms first got underway, constituting what could be referred to as an official democratisation of Chilean national identity. Legislation that outlawed vote buying and abolished literacy requirements for voters, land reform that hesitatingly acknowledged peasants' collective land rights and the mass expansion of education coverage in rural areas all had an important impact on Mapuche people. The 1960s was also a period of cultural effervescence in Chile. A variety of new popular movements emerged, such as *la Nueva Canción Chilena*, which helped to bring indigenous cultures to the forefront of contemporary cultural expression. More importantly, by the 1960s an increasing number of Mapuche were rebelling against assimilation into the peasant and worker masses, and asserting a more differentiated ethnic-based identity.⁸⁶

When this project was first conceived almost four years ago, it seemed unnecessary to look much further back than the 1960s. After all, this decade marked a major watershed in Chilean history. However, as my research progressed, it became increasingly apparent that the 1960s represented not so much a starting point as a culmination of ongoing cultural and political changes. So, although this thesis focuses on identity debates from the 1960s onwards, it also investigates the spaces being opened up – albeit patchily – from the beginning of the twentieth century.

⁸⁶ Newspapers from the period documented many instances of cultural and political mobilisation around a specifically Mapuche identity. See 'Mapuches se reunieron para analizar problemas de la raza', *Diario Austral* (29th November 1959); 'Nguillatún habrá hoy y mañana en el lugar indígena Collimallín', *Diario Austral* (18th March 1960); 'Estudiantes mapuches se han unido bajo una nueva entidad; la Ademay', *El Diario Austral* (10th May 1960); 'Eclosión mapuche en Arauco y Malleco', *Ercilla* (16th May 1962).

I do not, however, extend my analysis to identity discourses of the nineteenth century for several reasons. Firstly, two centuries would have been an unmanageable timeframe. Secondly, many scholars, namely Simon Collier, Jorge Pinto, José Bengoa and Stephen Lewis have already covered this period in great detail and it would be difficult to add anything to their highly accomplished accounts. Finally, my thesis posits the early-twentieth century as an important departure point in identity debates, arguing that Chilean-ness became a more openly contested terrain than it had been in the nineteenth century. Official images of Chilean nationhood did not go unchallenged during the 1800s and they certainly changed as the century wore on, but it was only in the twentieth century that the Mapuche became both visible and vocal in such polemics.

Outline and organisation of thesis

This thesis is divided into four chapters, each focusing on a different institution of nation building or “site of mediation”. Chapter One examines the production, dissemination and reception of national historiographies. In comparison to their counterparts in other Latin American countries, Chilean historians have been allocated an unusually prominent place in national culture.⁸⁷ Their contributions to both official and alternative imaginings of the nation are therefore particularly worthy of analysis. This chapter revisits the texts of certain key historians but also explores the historical writings of less well-known academics, indeed, it extends its analysis to several people who were not/are not professional historians but who have nonetheless engaged in the process of rewriting national history. Its aims to show that, contrary to general assumption, the Mapuche were a constant theme in Chilean intellectual life throughout the twentieth century,

Chapter Two asks to what extent the education system has officially endorsed the divergent identity discourses projected by national historiographies. Concentrating on changes made to the History curriculum since the 1960s, and bilingual projects

⁸⁷ Allen Woll, *A Functional Past: The Uses of History in Nineteenth Century Chile* (London: Louisiana State University Press, 1982).

developed by different governments, it aims to revise the notion that Mapuche culture, language and history has been continually ignored by the Chilean education system. Despite being marginalised as actors in national history, the Mapuche have always been present in the curriculum and school texts, and in a number of different ways. Moreover, many Mapuche have taken on active roles within the education system: as students protesting against its racist ideological underpinnings, as students trying – on the contrary – to become “less Mapuche” via education, as teachers and as parents or state representatives involved in recent intercultural projects. By exploring such examples of Mapuche agency, this chapter rejects the stereotypical image of indigenous peoples as passive victims of modernisation but also criticises the over-romanticised approach of those who see only their resistance to the encroachments of the state.

Turning to another state institution, Chapter Three investigates the role of museums in the social construction of memories and identities. Museum studies have proliferated since the 1980s, but there has been little written on Chile. My work concentrates on five specific museums, seeing them as a window onto the dominant discourses of national identity at the time of their creation. However, museums cannot be understood merely as unproblematic reflections of dominant ideological interests. Indeed, a far more complex picture emerges when investigating the changes that have been made to museum exhibitions. My work draws on these transformations – looking at how they materialised and who stimulated them – as an example of both the agency of civil society and an official willingness to open up the debates on meanings of Chilean-ness and Mapuche-ness. This chapter also explores the day to day workings of museums, not just their permanent exhibitions but also the cultural events they have sponsored, the publications they have produced, and the local debates in which they have been involved.

Chapter Four takes a more direct view “from below”, questioning the way in which identity debates have been played out in Mapuche poetry. Its main focus is the history of the poetry’s reception and Mapuche writers’ reactions to critical

assessments of their work. Asserting continuity in descent, culture and language, poetry can be seen as one of the Mapuche movement's strategies of resistance against state discourses of assimilation and integration. It could even be understood as an example of Mapuche ethno-nationalist discourse. However, my research into official responses to indigenous literature shows that the state has, on occasion, managed to appropriate the latter, incorporating it into its more inclusive versions of Chilean-ness.

As is clear from this outline, my thesis is an examination of the discourses and symbolic representations of state and minority nationalisms in Chile. It investigates the detail of dominant narratives of Chilean nationhood in the twentieth-century – the way they were disseminated through state institutions, how they changed over time and their internal inconsistencies – but it is also an exploration of how these were contested and debated. Both Mapuche and Chilean people have participated in this debate, which has to be understood against a backdrop of the *indigenista* and *indianista* revisions of history taking place in Latin America as a whole. I ask to what extent the state was able to control the debate, particularly once individuals and political organisations began to promote the idea of Mapuche nationhood. In addressing these issues, my work emphasises both the diversity of Mapuche culture and the heterogeneity of the Chilean state apparatus. Ultimately, my findings do not so much counter as seek to modify the existing historical literature on Chile, in part by drawing on some largely unexplored “sites of mediation”. An analysis of Mapuche participation in these sites – their rethinking or reproduction of ideas about race and nation – is fundamental to a full understanding of Chile's cultural history and its current political controversies.

CHAPTER ONE

Rewriting the National Narrative: Historiographical Debates in Twentieth-Century Chile

Faced with the task of defining their country's past, Chilean intellectuals of the twentieth century were both supported and challenged by the strong historiographical tradition that preceded them. An institutional basis for professional history was encouraged by the state far earlier in Chile than in most other Latin American countries, with the Universidad de Chile and the Instituto Nacional de Estadística being established in the 1840s.¹ The importance of the historian to Chilean culture has been noted by many scholars and is perhaps best illustrated by the prominent statues of historians that adorn Santiago city-centre.² Diego Barros Arana and Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, for instance, stand guard over the grounds of the Biblioteca Nacional, the Amunátegui brothers sit pensively in the middle of the Santiago's main thoroughfare, La Alameda, and José Victorino Lastarria is spectator to many football games and picnics in the Parque Forestal. According to one leading interpretation of Chilean historiography, it was the narrative, documentary and chronological approach advocated by Andrés Bello that had most influence among these great scholars of the nineteenth century.³ However, many of them were actively engaged in national politics – both Vicuña Mackenna and Miguel Luis Amunátegui ran for president – and, as Allen Woll has convincingly argued, the importance of securing Chile's future progress took priority over commitment to intellectual objectivity.⁴ Despite their professed detachment from politics and their perceived scholarly superiority, then, nineteenth-century Chilean historians were as much at the service of the state's national project as their counterparts in other Latin American countries.

¹ Ivan Jaksic and Sol Serrano, 'In the Service of the Nation: The Establishment and Consolidation of the University of Chile', *Hispanic American Historical Review* 70: 1 (1990), pp. 139-171.

² Allen Woll, *A Functional Past: The Uses of History in Nineteenth-Century Chile* (London: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), p. 1; Simon Collier, *Chile: The Making of a Republic, 1830-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 153.

³ Sergio Villalobos, *Historia del pueblo chileno*, Vol. I (Santiago: Zig-Zag, 1980), p. 16.

⁴ Allen Woll, *A Functional Past*, p. 190.

These historians' participation in national affairs extended beyond parliamentary politics. They had a key role to play in *imagining* the Chilean nation: narrating its origins, mapping its historical development, extolling its achievements. Such a narrative necessitated certain images of "Indian-ness". In the first decades following the country's declaration of independence (1810) political elites hailed the Mapuche as the founding fathers of Chilean nationhood.⁵ New presidents drew heavily on the verses of Alonso de Ercilla, a Spanish soldier who had fought against the Mapuche in the sixteenth century and who, on returning to Spain, wrote *La Araucana*, "perhaps the greatest epic poem ever written in the Spanish language".⁶ Ercilla exalted the bravery and military prowess of his foes, immortalising the Araucanians as indomitable warriors, prepared to resist Spanish colonialism at all costs. Such was the impact of this imagery that many early nineteenth-century newspapers appropriated the term 'araucano' in their title (e.g., *El Araucano*, *Ilustración Araucana*, *Insurgente Araucano*, *Monitor Araucano* and *Despertador Araucano*). The first history book written after independence, by Father José Javier Guzmán (1834), also capitalised on the Araucanians as a potent symbol of freedom.⁷ As Francisco Antonio Encina later remarked, the term Araucanian had simply become a poetic way of saying Chilean.⁸

⁵ Simon Collier, *Ideas and Politics of Chilean Independence, 1808-1833* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); Stephen Lewis, 'Myth and the History of Chile's Araucanians', *Radical History Review* 58 (Winter 1994), pp. 113-119; Jorge Pinto, *Del Discurso Colonial al Proindigenismo* (Temuco: Ediciones Universidad de la Frontera, 1996); Holdensis Casanova, 'Entre la ideología y la realidad: la inclusión de los mapuches en la nación chilena (1810-1830)', *Revista Historia Indígena* 4 (2000), pp. 9-48; Viviana Gallardo, 'Héroes indómitos, bárbaros y ciudadanos chilenos: El discurso sobre el indio en la construcción de la identidad nacional', *Revista de Historia Indígena* 5 (2001), pp. 119-134. Such a phenomenon was by no means exclusive to Chile. For a broader analysis of the Indian as a symbol of Spanish American independence see Rebecca Earle, 'Creole Patriotism and the Myth of the "Loyal Indian"', *Past and Present* 172 (2001), pp. 125-145, and "'Padres de la Patria' and the Ancestral Past: Commemorations of Independence in Nineteenth-Century Spanish America', *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34 (2002), pp. 775-803.

⁶ Lewis, 'Myth and the History of Chile's Araucanians', p. 115.

⁷ Father José Javier Guzmán's writings are cited in Simon Collier, *Chile: The Making of a Republic, 1830-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

⁸ Francisco Antonio Encina, *Historia de Chile, Desde la pre-historia hasta 1891*, Vol. X (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1940-1952), p. 55.

By the 1860s, however, the dominant discourse on national identity had changed and most historians began to portray the Mapuche as distinctly “other” to Chilean-ness. Adapting European theories of positivist liberalism to fit national circumstances, they promoted an image of Chilean-ness based on the civic values of order and stability embodied in the country’s political institutions and governing elite. “Indians” were depicted as the antithesis of such values and an obvious hindrance to liberal ideals of national self-assertion and progress. Vicuña Mackenna, for example, denounced Mapuche motives for siding with royalist forces during Chile’s independence wars: “It is no easy task to win round the Chilean Indian”, he professed in *Guerra a muerte* (1868), “because no art of diplomacy, apart from [allowing them to keep] the spoils of plunder prevails. Profoundly false and untrustworthy, like all savages, nobody surpasses them in the art of lying.”⁹ In his *Historia jeneral de Chile* (1884), Barros Arana berated Ercilla for his heroic images of the Mapuche, claiming that the soldier-cum-poet had misrepresented as honourable “the uprisings of those barbarians”. He continued: “his poem [...] has propagated the falsest of ideas about the Indians of Arauco, presenting them as moved by sentiments of the highest order, which one would never find in such inferior peoples.”¹⁰ Even an exception from the liberal norm, such as Francisco Bilbao – who defended indigenous cultures’ right to exist in “modern” Chile – was not exempt from describing Mapuche people as savages.¹¹

The civil war of 1891, which claimed the lives of over six thousand Chileans, temporarily shattered the myths of political stability and democratic republicanism upon which the liberal version of *chilenidad* was based. As a result, Chilean-ness became a more widely contested concept among historians and other intellectuals,

⁹ Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, *La Guerra a Muerte* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Francisco de Aguirre S.A., [1868] 1972), p. 182.

¹⁰ Diego Barros Arana, *Historia jeneral de Chile [sic]*, Vol. I (Santiago: Rafael Jover, 1884-1902), p. 423.

¹¹ For Bilbao’s praise of the Mapuche and his argument that a Chilean nationality (“or anything *sui generis*”) had to base itself on Ercilla, see Armando Donoso, *El pensamiento vivo de Francisco Bilbao* (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1940), p. 175 and p. 194 respectively. His poem ‘Araucanos’, which protested against the physical annihilation of Mapuche communities, but also described them as culturally backward and inferior, can be found in Manuel Bilbao (ed.), *Obras completas de Francisco Bilbao* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de Buenos Aires, 1866), pp. 319-321.

and – as this chapter will show – it remained the subject of academic debate throughout the twentieth century. My work therefore refutes Jaime Valdivieso's recent claim that "the problem of national identity has received scant attention" in Chile.¹² Analysis of Chilean historiography in fact provides an abundance of material on identity debates and suggests, moreover, that such debates opened up a variety of different (if sometimes only limited) spaces for the incorporation of the Mapuche into images of Chilean nationhood.

Even so, as recently as 2003, ex-President Patricio Aylwin, reflecting on the task of the *Comisión de Verdad Histórica y Nuevo Trato de los Pueblos Indígenas*, claimed that the "real history" of Chile's indigenous peoples had not yet been written. Indeed, he went as far as to say that this history – particularly the violence embedded in it – had been deliberately ignored.¹³ Secondary literature on ethnic relations in Chile and the specific situation of the Mapuche has tended to reinforce the idea that indigenous peoples' histories have been silenced. Until the 1980s the "anti-Indian" or racist thinking of Chilean intellectuals was often emphasised over and above that of scholars who sought to combat such prejudice.¹⁴ Since then a new generation of politically committed historians and anthropologists has made explicit attempts to "rescue" the denied or forgotten history of the Mapuche. Yet their work often draws precisely on written documents (such as Mapuche testimonies, newspaper articles, military reports, colonial chronicles and nineteenth-century historians' accounts) which illustrate that Mapuche history was not always silenced and that Mapuche actors were not entirely absent from the historical record.¹⁵

¹² Jaime Valdivieso, 'Reflexiones sobre nuestra identidad', *Simpson Siete* 12 (2000), p. 99.

¹³ Rodrigo Cerda, 'Patricio Aylwin: "Historiadores ignoraron hechos en la Araucanía"', *El Mercurio*, Santiago (2nd August 2003), p. C9.

¹⁴ See Frederick Pike's pioneering article 'Aspects of Class Relations in Chile, 1850-1960', *Hispanic American Historical Review* 43 (February 1963), pp. 14-33. In a detailed footnote accompanying his point about the vast number of "anti-Indian" writings found in Chilean literature, Pike included many references to scholars who contradicted this racist stereotyping. Hence, he acknowledged but sidelined the counterpoint to racist tendencies among Chilean intellectuals.

¹⁵ See, for example, José Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo mapuche, Siglos XIX y XX* (Santiago: Ediciones Sur, 1985).

This chapter argues that Aylwin's sweeping claims and scholars' protestations about the invisibility of Mapuche culture and society are misleading. The place of the Mapuche within the historiographical debates on national identity in twentieth-century Chile cannot be fully explained by way of oppositions such as presence/absence or inclusion/exclusion. The chronological approach (the idea that there was one debate in the 1910s, a different one in the 1940s and so forth) is also an oversimplification because numerous and simultaneously conflicting histories were written by foreign, Chilean and Mapuche authors throughout the twentieth century. Examining a variety of different approaches taken to Chile's past (official/*mestizo*, *hispanista*, *decadentista*, Marxist, anthropological and testimonial), this chapter seeks to show that Mapuche culture and history have been a recurrent theme of Chilean intellectual life since the early 1900s.

The discussion below also highlights the way in which historians lost their monopoly over Chile's past from the early twentieth century onwards. Many people whose early careers were dedicated to medicine or law turned their attention to national history as a means of understanding the country's contemporary ills. With the rise of the social sciences (the discipline was not institutionalised until the 1950s, but became increasingly prominent from the 1910s onwards), anthropologists, psychologists and sociologists also entered the fray.¹⁶ Indeed, it is valid to say that the most influential works of Chilean history during the twentieth century were not written by historians.¹⁷ In what follows I investigate six different authors' texts, assessing the historical and academic contexts in which they were produced, the main ideas of the texts and their reception. Only one of the six – Sergio Villalobos – was professionally trained as a historian.

Following a thematic rather than a chronological schema, the chapter focuses initially on two dominant historical narratives in twentieth-century Chile. It

¹⁶ Manuel Antonio Garretón, *Las ciencias sociales en Chile. Situación, problemas y perspectivas*. Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano, 1982; José Joaquín Brunner, 'Las ciencias sociales: institución, política y mercado en el caso de la sociología', FLACSO, Documento de Trabajo 235, 1986

emphasises the ethnic components of these scholars' work, examines their contrasting responses to discourses of *mestizaje*, and underlines some of the contradictions or perhaps unintended paradoxes that emerge from their contributions to identity debates. Attention then shifts to less conventional narratives of Chilean nationhood – an early “pro-indigenous” version of *mestizaje*, an innovative Marxist view of Chile's indigenous past and present, and an anthropological perspective on Mapuche political activism – in order to illustrate the importance of alternative histories. Finally, it examines a piece of Mapuche testimonial literature and its editorial trajectory over seven decades, in an attempt to bring the dominant and “alternative” histories together, asking how they competed and influenced one another during the twentieth century.

Academic debates on Chile's ethnic identity have undoubtedly become more heated since the 1980s. This is, in part, due to international trends in the humanities and social sciences, such as the emergence of post-modernism and post-colonialism. It can also be attributed, as Florencia Mallon points out, to the revitalisation of the Mapuche political movement and the “deep historiographical sea-change” brought about by the military coup of 1973.¹⁸ However, while it is true that the military government, by depriving large sectors of society of their citizenship rights, forced a re-examination of exclusionary collective identity paradigms, it is also the case that these had been re-examined before under less extreme political circumstances. The dictatorship possibly triggered the most radical of revisionist approaches to the country's past, but it was certainly not the first time that conceptions of national identity had been rethought by Chilean intellectuals, nor the first time that the role of the Mapuche had been reconsidered.

¹⁷ Miller, *In the Shadow of the State*, p. 232.

¹⁸ Florencia Mallon, ‘Decoding the Parchments of the Latin American Nation-State: Peru, Mexico and Chile in Comparative Perspective’, in James Dunkerley (ed.), *Studies in the Formation of the State in Latin America* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 2002), p. 44.

Sergio Villalobos (1930 –) and contested discourses of *mestizaje*

Until recently, Sergio Villalobos's historical narrative largely coincided with official discourses of Chilean nationhood: he was the author of many (state authorised) school textbooks on Chilean and Latin American history and he was responsible for setting the history questions in the country's university entrance exams. He was also Director of the Biblioteca Nacional between 1990 and 1993, and in 1992 he won the *Premio Nacional de Historia*, one of the highest academic accolades in Chile. He has previously taught at the Universidad Católica, as well as several universities abroad, and as of 2005 was still lecturing at the Universidad de Chile. The significance of his work lies in its controversial interpretation of *mestizaje* – the master narrative of nationhood in twentieth-century Chile – its recent and public rejection by many Mapuche, and the ensuing debates about the politics of writing history.

Before exploring the intricacies of such polemics, it is worth outlining the academic context in which Villalobos elaborated his *mestizo* narrative. Influenced by theoretical developments of the 1950s and 1960s, he rejected the idea that “great men”, such as Pedro de Valdivia or Bernardo O'Higgins, made history, and instead, focused on the broader structural picture of historical change. More significant, however, were his pioneering studies of frontier relations between Araucanian and *hispano-criollo* societies during the colonial period.¹⁹ Before the 1980s Chilean historiography tended to endorse Alonso de Ercilla's epic version of events, reinforcing the notion of three hundred years of bloodshed between the two peoples. A narrative of perpetual warfare contributed to the notion of Chilean “exceptionalism” in Latin America: it provided an explanation for the development of the country's strong centralised institutions (essential to any long-term war effort) and the general sobriety of its people. It also helped to promote Chile as a heroic

¹⁹ *Relaciones fronterizas en la Araucanía* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica, 1982); *Los pehuenches en la vida fronteriza* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica, 1989); *Vida fronteriza en la Araucanía: El mito de la guerra de Arauco* (Santiago: Andrés Bello, 1995).

warrior nation, a point which was not lost on the military regime of Augusto Pinochet.²⁰

Contradicting this version of history, Villalobos argued that the *Guerra de Arauco* was a myth (he specifically used this term), because relations between the Araucanians and Spanish were mainly peaceful from the 1660s onwards. “Beneath the conflict”, he claimed, “there unravelled a prosaic, routine and uneventful history [...] Thanks to curiosity and mutual needs, which turned out to be more powerful than the use of weapons, [the two peoples] came together and integrated”.²¹ For Villalobos, frontier life was the driving force of colonial history because trade was needed by both peoples in order to survive. He also documented the importance of the *parlamentos* (meetings between Spanish and Mapuche leaders) and of religious missionary groups in deterring full-scale war. Many academics have praised Villalobos’ work for dispelling the popular romanticised version of the country’s past.²² It also stimulated further research into frontier relations, particularly by Chilean historians Leonardo León Solís and Jorge Pinto.²³ León Solís agreed with Villalobos that the *Guerra de Arauco* was more myth than reality by the mid-seventeenth century. However, for him, it was not so much that the conflict between Spanish-*criollo* and Mapuche societies disappeared, but rather that it took on a new form: it became a latent war, with intermittent armed skirmishes (instead of epic battles), and raids to capture prisoners or properties.²⁴

²⁰ Exponents of the military-racial version of *chilenidad* include: I. Tellez, *Una raza militar* (Santiago: Imprenta La Sud-América, 1944); Francisco Frías Valenzuela, *Manual de Historia de Chile* (Santiago: Zig-Zag, 1986); and Gonzalo Vial Correa, *Historia de Chile* (Santiago: Santillana, 1994).

²¹ Villalobos, *Vida fronteriza en la Araucanía*, p. 117.

²² Rolf Foerster and Jorge Iván Vergara, ‘Relaciones interétnicas o relaciones fronterizas?’, excerpt no.5, 1996 (www.uchile.cl)

²³ On Jorge Pinto, see the introduction to this thesis. Works by Leonardo León Solís include: *Maloqueros y conchavadores en Araucanía y las pampas, 1700-1800* (Temuco: Ediciones Universidad de la Frontera, 1991); ‘El pacto colonial hispano-araucano y el Parlamento de 1692’, *Nutram* 30 (1992); ‘La corona española y las guerras intestinas entre los indígenas de Araucanía, Patagonia y las Pampas, 1760-1806’, *Nueva Historia* 1: 2 (1981).

²⁴ León Solís, *Maloqueros y conchavadores*, p. 15.

Having denied the overwhelming importance of warfare in the colonial period, what became most fundamental to Villalobos' national narrative was the process of *mestizaje*. Sexual as well as social interaction was key to his portrayal of frontier relations. According to Villalobos, *mestizaje* began as soon as the Spanish arrived in Chile, due to the lack of women among them.²⁵ Mapuche women were often abducted by Spanish soldiers or raped by the Spanish men in whose homes they worked as servants.²⁶ Villalobos also claimed that sexual relations were common between Mapuche men and Spanish women (the few present), as a result of Mapuche surprise attacks on Spanish settlements, during which they would steal women as well as cattle and money. He described how "to own a white woman was very prestigious [among the Araucanians]". It was "proof of a successful adventure [and of] great use in terms of the work they could do [...] not to mention their satisfying the Araucanians' sexual appetite".²⁷ Once again, the Araucanians' virility was deemed worthy of mention and, by positing their men as important participants in the process of *mestizaje*, Villalobos demonstrated a more flexible understanding of racial mixing than many intellectuals before him (see below on Nicolás Palacios).

Villalobos's interpretation of *mestizaje* has recently become the subject of great controversy in Chile because he used it to protest against the Concertación governments' proposed indigenous legislation, which sought an increased devolution of Mapuche community lands and promoted the constitutional recognition of Chile's indigenous peoples. Villalobos's version of *mestizaje* was linked to the modernisation and increased homogenisation of national society, and thus supported the idea that the full assimilation of the Mapuche into Chilean-ness was inevitable.²⁸ Indeed, in an article published in *El Mercurio* in 2000, Villalobos

²⁵ Villalobos, *Los Vida fronteriza en la Araucanía*, p. 130.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.131

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ In regard to the Pehuenche, who he described as separate to the "Araucanians" but who many now define as a sub-group of Mapuche society, Villalobos was more pessimistic still, for he asserted their physical annihilation rather than assimilation. See the final chapter, 'Ocaso de un pueblo', in *Los pehuenches en la vida fronteriza*.

declared that the Mapuche had already disappeared as a “pure” ethnic category.²⁹ From the seventeenth century onwards, he alleged, “the so-called Araucanians, or euphemistically named Mapuche, [were] nothing more than *mestizos*, despite the notoriety of their ancient traits.”

Villalobos claimed as a matter of universal truth that advanced cultures imposed themselves on “less developed” cultures. In the case of Spanish domination over the Mapuche, Christian religion and its moral values were seen to be key, replacing vengeance with justice and condemning homosexuality, which had – according to Villalobos – been common in pre-conquest Mapuche society. His article concluded that the Mapuche “were the protagonists of their own subjugation”: they had accepted Spanish-criollo domination, taking advantage of the “civilisation” that came with it (particularly the material benefits) and in doing so renounced their ancestral rights as an ethnically different people. Villalobos’s narrative of *mestizaje* – via which Mapuche society was irreversibly hispanicised – allowed no room for difference, only sameness. By failing to acknowledge the way in which indigenous cultures influenced Spanish-criollo society, it also implied that cultural domination was only ever a one-way process.

Villalobos’s newspaper article caused outrage among both Mapuche and non-Mapuche intellectuals in Chile. Certain groups even tried to take him to court, for “writing and publicising [such] offensive remarks”.³⁰ Magazines and Internet web sites circulated numerous commentaries protesting against his explicitly racist views and underscoring the political motives behind his article – to discredit contemporary Mapuche organisations’ demands for increased cultural and political autonomy, and the return of their ancestral lands.³¹ Villalobos’s main point was that the Mapuche were not “really Mapuche” but instead *mestizos* – like all Chileans – and as such had

²⁹ Sergio Villalobos, ‘Araucanía: Errores Ancestrales’, *El Mercurio* (14th May 2000), p. A2. All subsequent quotations in this paragraph and the next are taken from this article.

³⁰ Manuel Vega, ‘Continúa guerra de Arauco entre mapuches y historiador’, *La Nación* (16th February 2000), p. 10.

no justification for collectively identifying and mobilising as a distinctive ethnic community.³²

So, while in many ways Villalobos's historical narrative differed from that of his predecessors there were also similarities. Like the conservative historian Jaime Eyzaguirre, who will be discussed shortly, Villalobos dismissed *indigenismo* as anachronistic in twentieth-century Chile. He also perpetuated an evolutionist understanding of history, denigrating Mapuche culture as backward and asserting its inevitable disintegration and extinction. Notably, Villalobos seemed to launch his most virulent attack against Mapuche culture in response to those people – an increasing number in the 1990s and early 2000s – who supported more relativistic approaches to cultural and ethnic history. To be sure, by the 1990s it was not just intellectuals who were disseminating such views but also some sectors of the Chilean state, namely the Ministry of Education, as Chapter Three will show.

Villalobos's contentious article was published during a period of escalating violence and confrontation between the police, local landowners and Mapuche organisations in southern Chile. Community land was the main issue of contention, although Mapuche activists were also protesting against hydroelectric development projects and the work of forestry companies in the region. *El Mercurio's* propaganda campaign, supported by scholars such as Villalobos, blamed the political and social unrest on the failings of the Concertación's Indigenous Law (1993), a polemic that is of interest for two reasons. Firstly, it serves as an excellent example of the political motives behind the national narratives constructed by historians. In this case, Villalobos's version was no longer an "official" history, as it specifically condemned state policy towards Chile's indigenous peoples. Secondly, his comments scandalised people but he nonetheless opened up a debate that was widely publicised

³¹ See, for example, Marco Valdés, 'A propósito de errores ancestrales y desaciertos contemporáneos: una repuesta posible a Villalobos (www.mapuche.cl)'; Jorge Calbucura, 'Araucanía: Dilema Ancestral', *Rocinante* 24 (October 2000).

³² Kay Warren has illustrated a similar situation in Guatemala, where official discourses of *mestizaje* that assume the commonly shared multicultural roots of national citizens have been used to attack the validity of Maya activism. See Kay Warren, *Indigenous movements and their critics: Pan-Maya activism in Guatemala* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

throughout the national press, and one in which a variety of different people – Mapuche and non-Mapuche – participated.

In a recent interview Villalobos stressed the importance of using the term Araucanian instead of Mapuche.³³ His rationale, it seems, was to relegate the Mapuche to Chile's colonial past and assert Spanish control over this people. In the same interview, Villalobos claimed that official population censuses greatly exaggerated the number of Araucanians living in Chile: there were, he said, only one or two hundred thousand left. Such an anti-Mapuche discourse needs to be understood not only as an attack on the validity of Mapuche organisations' demands, but also as an attack on the government and its discourse of multiculturalism. Having possibly been the most prominent Chilean historian during the 1980s and 1990s, Villalobos has been cast out as a black sheep in the 2000s. He was not invited to participate in the recent truth commission on the history of Chile's indigenous peoples, despite the many works he has published on the subject, and has consequently cast doubt upon the findings of the commission in various newspaper editorials. (The truth commission will be analysed in more detail in the conclusion to this thesis.) It is also true that he is no longer involved in producing history textbooks for schools. Villalobos's narrative has become marginalised, although it does still carry great weight with right-wing sectors of society.

Jaime Eyzaguirre (1908-1968) and conservative *Hispanismo*

Jaime Eyzaguirre, a devout Catholic and staunchly conservative thinker who favoured corporatism and social justice, studied law at the Universidad Católica during the late 1920s and early 1930s. Together with Bernardo Leighton and Eduardo Frei Montalva, he was an active participant in the university's social Catholic study circles and the Asociación Nacional de Estudiantes Católicos, helping transform them both into dynamic intellectual forums. Despite training as a lawyer, Eyzaguirre went on to dedicate the main part of his adult life to studying and

³³ Interview, Sergio Villalobos, Universidad de Chile, Santiago, 18th March 2003.

rethinking Chile's colonial and republican history.³⁴ He also wrote many impassioned books on Chilean nationality, which explains his inclusion in this chapter.³⁵ My analysis of Eyzaguirre ultimately confirms the strength of the conservative view of history in early to mid-twentieth century Chile, but also underlines the need to look beyond the more obvious implications of his work, particularly when thinking about its representations of the Mapuche.

Between the 1930s-1960s Eyzaguirre had a major impact on the development of history as a professional academic discipline in Chile. He founded the Academia Chilena de Historia in 1933 and in 1942 helped to establish the Departamento de Historia y Geografía at the Universidad Católica in Chile. This was transformed into the Instituto de Historia in 1969, an institution which has produced many of Chile's most prominent historians. Perhaps most illustrative of Eyzaguirre's impact on historiographical discourses, however, was the hugely influential role he played in academic journals. In 1932 he founded *Estudios* ("an ideological apparatus of the first order", according to José Joaquín Brunner and Gonzálo Catalán),³⁶ and supervised its production for the next twenty-five years. When this venture ended Eyzaguirre set up another journal called *Finis Terrae* and was responsible for its content until 1964. He was also director of the *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de Historia* from 1938 until 1967 and he established the internationally acclaimed journal *Historia* in 1961. In the case of the *Boletín*, it was Eyzaguirre who suggested the themes to be discussed, found authors, chose the academic texts suitable for publication, and distributed the historiographical works to be reviewed. He was thus in a highly authoritative position and – because these were the most prominent

³⁴ Eyzaguirre's historical works included *La ventura de Pedro de Valdivia* (Santiago: Ediciones Ercilla, 1942); *O'Higgins* (Santiago: Zig-Zag, 1946); *Chile durante el gobierno de Errázuriz Echaurren* (Santiago: Zig-Zag, 1957); *Ideario y ruta de la emancipación chilena* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1957).

³⁵ *Fisonomía histórica de Chile* (Santiago: Editorial Pacífico [1948], 1958); *Historia de Chile. Genesis de la nacionalidad* (Santiago: Zig-Zag, 1964); *Hispanoamérica del dolor* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria [1969], 1986).

³⁶ José Joaquín Brunner and Gonzálo Catalán, *Cinco estudios sobre cultura y sociedad*. Santiago: FLACSO, 1985, p. 180.

historical journals – could quite literally decide which version of history was to be disseminated in Chile.³⁷

Not only did Eyzaguirre publish, research and write history, he also dedicated a great deal of time and energy to teaching the subject. Eleven years after his death, Mariana Aylwin recalled how Eyzaguirre's university "classes [were] remembered by all those who attended and in one way or another his teachings still [had] an effect on many students."³⁸ Eyzaguirre also taught in secondary schools, such as the Liceo Alemán in Santiago, and wrote hundreds of articles for the national press, an indication that his narrative was not exclusive to academia but instead reached out to all sectors of (literate) society. According to Ricardo Krebs, Eyzaguirre wanted "to spread a message" and he attempted to do this via as many different vehicles – academic journals, newspapers, classrooms and lecture theatres – as possible.³⁹

Eyzaguirre was a renowned *hispanista*, a thinker who continually and vehemently exalted the Hispanic roots of *chilenidad*. For terms such as *hispanista* or *hispanismo* to be illuminating, however, it is necessary to define the specific context in which Eyzaguirre used them, because their meaning can vary greatly. Hence Pike's insistence on the need to distinguish between cultural, economic, political and religious *hispanismos*.⁴⁰ Pike also made the point that while the glorification of Hispanic values and traditions spanned the political spectrum, it tended to gain more adherents in conservative sectors because it was associated with attempts to preserve the hierarchical system left over from the colonial period.⁴¹ This was undoubtedly

³⁷ The "fichero bibliográfico" created by Eyzaguirre as part of the *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de Historia* was a continually updated record of academic works on Chilean history. In 1967 (No.6) 1,104 works were included. By 1992 (No.26) there were 6,411. If a certain text were omitted, it was less likely that future generations of historians would read it. Eyzaguirre therefore had great control not only over what was produced, but also what works were read and debated.

³⁸ Mariana Aylwin, 'Vida y obra de Jaime Eyzaguirre', in Mariana Aylwin, Cristián Gazmuri and Juan Carlos González, *Perspectiva de Jaime Eyzaguirre* (Santiago: Aconcagua, 1977), p. 41.

³⁹ Ricardo Krebs, Prologue to Aylwin et al., *Perspectiva de Jaime Eyzaguirre*, p. 11.

⁴⁰ Frederick Pike, *Hispanismo, 1898-1936: Spanish Conservatives and Liberals and their Relations with Spanish America* (London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 323.

the case with Eyzaguirre, who supported Franco in the Spanish civil war and generally demonstrated an aristocratic disdain for democracy.

Eyzaguirre's *hispanista* narrative focused on the cultural and religious aspects of Spain's colonial legacy. For him, Spain's greatest contribution to Chile's historical development was its importation of the Catholic faith, which is the key to understanding the difference between Eyzaguirre's use of the terms Hispanic and Spanish. As explained by Chilean historian Cristián Gazmuri, "not everything Spanish is Hispanic" for Eyzaguirre, "but instead only that which contains the essence of Catholicism".⁴² This, then, was Eyzaguirre's message: he wanted all Chileans to take pride in the rich legacy of Christian values inherited from Spain and to live by them.

Eyzaguirre did not merely admire the mother country or wish to emulate it, but saw Chile as part of an extended *patria*. This relationship was linked to a specific image of Spain and a particular period in its history. Eyzaguirre's ideal society was the Spain of the *Siglo de Oro*, the Spain of Philip II and the Catholic Kings, and he saw anything that undermined its replication in modern Chile as symptomatic of his country's national decline.⁴³ Eyzaguirre thus endorsed the *decadentista* narrative – an anti-liberal nationalist discourse that gained hegemonic status in the early twentieth century, alleging that Chile had been in a state of moral and social crisis since liberalism displaced conservatism in the 1870s. That it was still being enunciated in the 1960s shows just how persistent the myth of national decline was in Chile. In contrast to earlier *decadentistas* such as Encina and Palacios, who saw the national plight in racial terms (see below), Eyzaguirre focused on the country's spiritual decadence, which he claimed was caused by political liberalism's attempts to destroy the Catholic Church, and the resulting loss of Hispanic values and traditions.

⁴² Cristián Gazmuri, 'La cosmovisión de Jaime Eyzaguirre', in Mariana Aylwin *et al.*, *Perspectiva de Jaime Eyzaguirre*, p. 95

⁴³ Ricardo Krebs, 'Algunos aspectos de la visión histórica de Jaime Eyzaguirre', *Historia* 7 (1968), pp. 11-12.

According to Eyzaguirre, it was only through its “discovery” by Spain that Chile became part of “the accelerated rhythm of history”.⁴⁴ Led by Pedro de Valdivia, the *conquistadores* who were “undaunted by the distance and the obstacles [...] finally settled in Chile and gave it that sense of unity which was hitherto lacking”.⁴⁵ Eyzaguirre asserted this point more clearly still when reflecting on the implications of Spanish America’s independence: “It is true that Iberoamérica is no longer Spain, but it is also true that Iberoamérica would not have existed without her [...]. The Spaniard is not merely one more element in the ethnic conglomeration. He is the decisive factor, the only one who knew how to unite peoples [...]. Chile was no longer the mere name of a valley, but instead represented a vast and fully unified territory”.⁴⁶ In this text Eyzaguirre portrayed Chile in explicitly ethnic terms, a point often missed in commentaries on his work.

Having idealised the Spanish *conquistadores*, there was little space left in Eyzaguirre’s scenario for the Mapuche. Contrary to most historians, he denied that any significant racial mixing took place between the two peoples: “So large was the barrier separating the Araucanians and Spanish, that it was difficult to achieve [...] coexistence, let alone a fusion between the races”.⁴⁷ “For that reason”, he claimed, “of all the peoples happened upon by the *conquistadores* [...] it was the Araucanian that least contributed to the formation of Chilean nationality”.⁴⁸ For Eyzaguirre, the Mapuche had no historical agency and therefore no bearing on the country’s progress: “It would be pointless to trace Chile’s [development] to a vague and fragmentary aborigine past”, he argued, because aboriginal cultures “lacked creative mobility and were devoid of logic and [future] horizons”.⁴⁹ However, he was inconsistent on this point, because he occasionally acknowledged that the indigenous people did have an impact, albeit negative: “It was the Araucanian in perpetual

⁴⁴ Jaime Eyzaguirre, *Historia de Chile, Genesis de la nacionalidad*, p. 33.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* The quotation indicates Eyzaguirre’s keen interest in the “great men” of history. In this sense, his approach differed starkly to that of Villalobos.

⁴⁶ Jaime Eyzaguirre, *Hispanoamérica del dolor*, p. 29.

⁴⁷ Jaime Eyzaguirre, *Fisonomía histórica de Chile*, p. 33

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

agitation that prevented the normalisation of colonial life for two centuries or more.”

⁵⁰ The “otherness” of Mapuche society was also reinforced by the religious content of Eyzaguirre’s discourse, for he perceived this people’s devotion to “paganism” and the practice of so-called “black magic” as an outright rejection of the western Christianity that was fundamental to his version of Chilean-ness.⁵¹ Eyzaguirre rarely used the term *mestizaje*, but it was clear that he denied its relevance to contemporary Chile. As noted by Chilean anthropologist Sonia Montecino, “For Eyzaguirre the *mestizo* has no transcendence in the foundation of our nationality. The Chilean subject, for him, is the *criollo*.”⁵²

Eyzaguirre’s condemnation of Mapuche culture is perhaps best understood as a reaction against those who sought to redefine the nation by looking to its Indian subjects. Like other *hispanistas* in Spanish America, he dismissed *indigenismo* as ridiculous and childish. He was also concerned that *indigenista* ideas would threaten the harmonious relationship between *la madre patria* and the Spanish American republics. In his own words, “attempts to relegate the Spanish name to oblivion and oppose this with a hyperbolic revaluation of the Indian will destroy the vital nerve binding our peoples”.⁵³ Eyzaguirre’s vigorous and repeated condemnation of those that promoted the value of indigenous cultures suggests that the latter were both present and actively disseminating their views. Such an argument is, of course, problematic. The vehemence of Eyzaguirre’s anti-Mapuche discourse in itself only implies and does not actually prove that a “pro-Mapuche” contingent existed. However, this chapter will show that *indigenista* discourses were circulating in Chile during the 1930s-1960s and hence confirms the suspicion raised by the aggressive nature of Eyzaguirre’s writings. Even if he dominated the debate, Eyzaguirre’s pronouncements at least showed that Chileans were discussing the “indigenous question”.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 34

⁵¹ Gazmuri, ‘La cosmovisión de Jaime Eyzaguirre’, p. 101.

⁵² Montecino, *Madres y Huachos*, p. 129.

Eyzaguirre was not alone in his cultural affection for Spain, his devotion to the Catholic Church and his abhorrence of socialism and communism. Indeed, during the 1930s-1960s many other prominent scholars such as Osvaldo Silva, Roberto Peragallo, Francisco Contreras and Pedro Cruz endorsed his view of Chilean history.⁵⁴ During the Popular Unity government, Eyzaguirre's narrative lost its influential status, but was soon reasserted by the military regime of Pinochet, a fact confirmed by Mariana Aylwin, who in 1977 claimed that his writings were being "enthusiastically promoted" by the state.⁵⁵ By the twenty-first century Eyzaguirre's version of national identity had passed its prime: most school texts no longer make reference to his ideas about Chilean nationality. However, many faithful disciples of his remain in Chilean academia, the most prominent of whom is probably Gonzalo Vial Correa. Vial, like Eyzaguirre, assigns Catholicism a fundamental role in the formation of *lo ser chileno*.⁵⁶ He also echoes Eyzaguirre in claiming that the Mapuche, of all the indigenous peoples in Chile, had no real input into Chilean nationality.⁵⁷ It is perhaps no coincidence that he reasserted this aspect of conservative *hispanismo* at a time when Mapuche political organisations were becoming increasingly visible and vocal in Chilean society.

Nicolás Palacios (1854-1911): *Decadentismo* and ethnic versions of Chilean-ness
Eyzaguirre's writings reinforced the influential status of *decadentismo* in mid-twentieth century Chile. His work was also indicative of the heterogeneity of the "literature of national decline" because it developed a more religious slant than that adopted by earlier exponents. Even when it first emerged in the early 1900s *decadentismo* was by no means homogeneous in character, for it incorporated many intellectuals from different social backgrounds, who professed a variety of political

⁵³ Eyzaguirre, *Hispanoamérica del dolor*, p. 29.

⁵⁴ Paul Drake, 'Chile', in Mark Falcoff and Frederick Pike (eds.), *The Spanish Civil War, 1936-39: American Hemispheric Perspectives* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982).

⁵⁵ Mariana Aylwin, 'Vida y Obra de Jaime Eyzaguirre', p. 15.

⁵⁶ Gonzalo Vial, 'Los elementos de la identidad nacional', in Angel Soto (ed.), *Chile en el siglo XXI* (Santiago: Universidad de los Andes, 2003), p. 52.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

ideologies.⁵⁸ As Gazmuri commented, “There were rich and poor, believers and agnostics, conservatives and progressive reformers.”⁵⁹ *Decadentistas* also disagreed on the precise nature of the crisis they were denouncing. They were, however, generally united in their anti-liberalism, nationalism and rejection of the governing elite’s cosmopolitan agenda.

One *decadentista* who became increasingly prominent in Chilean intellectual circles during the early twentieth century was Nicolás Palacios. An analysis of his work is crucial to this chapter because it illustrates the diversity of people participating in identity debates and, more importantly, it attests to efforts to introduce an ethnic – and specifically indigenous – element into Chilean national identity. There is little doubt that Palacios’s ideas were subverted to serve the conservative view of Chilean history, nonetheless that such ideas existed at all was significant, as was their engagement with dominant narratives of nationhood.

Palacios was a physician from a modest, middle class background, from Santa Cruz, Colchagua, who – despite his various illnesses and his father’s protests – insisted on fighting for his *patria* during the War of the Pacific (1879-1882). After the war Palacios continued with his medical studies, albeit despondently, and was relatively unheard of until the mid-1890s, when he began working as a doctor in the northern nitrate zone. It was here, as witness to the degrading social conditions in which people lived – even those who had been prepared to go to war and die for their country – that Palacios began publicly to lament Chile’s national decline and to challenge the elite’s monopoly over the construction of national identity.

⁵⁸ Cristián Gazmuri, *El Chile del centenario: los ensayistas de la crisis* (Santiago: Instituto de Historia, Pontificia Universidad Católica, 2001); Sofía Correa Sutil, ‘El pensamiento en Chile en siglo XX bajo la sombra de Portales’, in Oscar Terán (ed.), *Ideas en el siglo: Intelectuales y cultura en el siglo XX latinoamericano* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores Argentino S.A., 2004). Those intellectuals described as *decadentistas* included Nicolás Palacios, Alberto Edwards, Alejandro Venegas, Luis Emilio Recabarren, Francisco Antonio Encina, Enrique Mac-Iver, Guillermo Subercaseaux, Tancredo Pinochet Le-Brun and Emilio Rodríguez Mendoza.

⁵⁹ Gazmuri, *El Chile del centenario*, p. 19.

Palacios maintained that the cause of Chile's national crisis – indicated by rising crime rates and problems of alcoholism – was the land colonisation policy of the liberal governments, which promoted the immigration of inferior “Latin races”. Scholars such as Carl Solberg and Charles Hale have claimed that European immigration never became a major issue in Chilean social thought.⁶⁰ However, Palacios must have been part of, or himself stimulated, a wider nationalistic reaction against immigration, because by the 1910s the government had set up a bicameral committee to investigate the matter, and its findings agreed with Palacios on the negative effects of foreign colonisation. As a result, there was a great reduction in the number of land titles granted to foreigners.⁶¹ Furthermore, the subject was vociferously debated in the national press: *El Mercurio*, for example, embarked on an extensive campaign denouncing the exploitation of Magallanes by foreign colonisers.⁶² Palacios's writings need to be understood in the context of this increasingly vigorous nationalism.

In 1904 Palacios published – anonymously – *Raza chilena: Libro escrito por un chileno para los chilenos*, which attracted a lively response from Chilean and foreign academics alike. Several scholars have incorporated Palacios into their analysis of Chilean nationalism, but few have examined his engagement with the academic discourses circulating in Chile at the time. I argue that this context is fundamental to understanding both the ideas in Palacios's work and his place within national identity debates. In *Raza chilena* Palacios denounced Chileans' misinformed prejudice towards Araucanians and the “insensitive defamatory campaign launched against them by some newspapers, journals, even official publications.”⁶³ Those “slanderers” meriting special mention were the *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* – “the only official general science journal in [Chile]” – and

⁶⁰ Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism* (see my introduction); Charles Halé, ‘Political and Social Ideas in Latin America, 1870-1930’, in Leslie Bethell (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, Vol. IV (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 367-441.

⁶¹ At the same time land titles were granted to 1100 native born farmers, who for years had squatted on government lands. This was the first time since the 1840s that the government's colonisation policy had officially identified with the interests of the native born. See Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism*, pp.162-163.

⁶² *Ibid.*

Tomás Guevara's *Historia de la Civilización de la Araucanía*.⁶⁴ "For four years now", Palacios protested, "these *Anales* have been publishing 'The History of the Civilisation of Araucanía', which describes our indigenous ancestors as depraved, cruel, savage Indians [...] and interprets some of their military tactics as mere cowardliness."⁶⁵ Significantly, he used the same historical sources as scholars such as Guevara, but turned them around to promote the good qualities of the Araucanians. More specifically, he highlighted several examples of the *Anales* misquoting from colonial chronicles.⁶⁶ Palacios thus presented himself as taking the "true" version of history from these chronicles.

For Palacios, the Araucanians were a crucial and positive component of the Chilean *mestizo* race: "All foreigners are well aware that Araucanian blood runs through our veins and that we are gloriously proud of this."⁶⁷ He argued that the Araucanians were different from – and notably superior to – other Amerindians, as reflected in their enduring resistance against Spanish domination. Subscribing to Ercilla's romantic warrior imagery, Palacios professed his admiration for their "profound love of combat" and marvelled at their intelligence and flexibility on the battlefield. By praising the Mapuche warriors' military strategy, as well as their heroism, he undermined Guevara's claim that they fought in unorganised savage gangs.⁶⁸ On the same page Palacios also made a point of describing himself as half-Araucanian.⁶⁹

Despite exalting and even identifying with Mapuche values and traditions, Palacios nevertheless reinforced the stereotype of the indomitable warrior of the past, which did little to encourage a meaningful debate about their situation in contemporary Chile. His reference to the Chilean army's occupation of Araucanía in the 1880s is also revealing: "The conquest of Arauco ended with the barbarians' voluntary

⁶³ [Palacios], *Raza chilena* (Valparaíso: Imprenta i Litografía Alemana, 1904), p. 32

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 33

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 35

⁶⁷ Palacios, *Raza chilena*, p. 722

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 36

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

surrender before the Chilean army.”⁷⁰ The Mapuche had become barbarians – a term Palacios objected to in other scholars’ work – and “other” to the Chilean army. An analysis of Palacios’s conceptualisations of race and *mestizaje*, which are full of contradictions and evasions, helps to explain these inconsistent representations of the Mapuche.

Palacios was heavily influenced by European thinkers such as Gustave Le Bon (whom he quoted constantly), and drew from their theories of biological racism unique and rather dubious conclusions about the role of racial mixture in Chilean national identity.⁷¹ In stark contrast to those intellectuals who insisted on Chile’s fundamentally European heritage, Palacios asserted that the true Chilean race was *mestizo*, the result of miscegenation between two superior races: the fierce Araucanians and the Spanish *conquistadores*. Significantly, Palacios distinguished the Spanish who arrived in Chile from those who disembarked in other Latin American countries, by claiming they were of Gothic (Northern European) as opposed to Latin descent. According to the doctor, most had blonde hair.⁷² Palacios agreed with the notion that racial hybridisation often produced degenerative results.⁷³ However, he posited that such degeneration did not apply to the mixing of Araucanians and Gothic Spaniards because both peoples were of pure descent and shared many similar superior traits, such as military strength and “patriotic tenderness”.⁷⁴ To Palacios’s mind, Chile’s military victories and political stability were proof enough that these two “races” were a healthy match.

Another key argument of *Raza chilena* was that miscegenation had taken place in a constant and uniform manner (between the Gothic male and Araucanian female), creating a homogeneous and stable Chilean race.⁷⁵ In reducing *mestizaje* to such a

⁷⁰ Palacios, *Raza chilena*, p. 698.

⁷¹ Hale, ‘Political and Social Ideas’, p. 409. See also Cristián Gazmuri, ‘Notas sobre la influencia del racismo en la obra de Nicolás Palacios, Francisco Encina and Antonio Cabero’, *Historia* 16 (1981), pp. 225-247.

⁷² Palacios, *Raza Chilena*, p. 187.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 217

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13, 21.

rigid format, Palacios evaded the question of the input of Araucanian men – precisely the Araucanian warrior whose virtues he greatly praised – into Chilean nationality. Moreover, as the inferior and dominated element in a patriarchal society, the Araucanian female was seen to have made only minimal contribution to *chilenidad*. Hence, the Araucanians, depicted in parts of Palacios’s text as central to the fusion of the heroic and superior Chilean “race”, seemed to disappear via *mestizaje*.

Palacios referred to race in a biological and physical sense, but also highlighted its moral and psychological components. In using the term thus, he portrayed race as intrinsic and innate, yet his account revealed a race constructed as a result of historical conditions, namely the Spanish conquest and mixing between the *conquistadores* and Chile’s native inhabitants. In this sense, Palacios interpreted *mestizaje* as an event, not a process. As outlined above, he believed that only one form of racial mixing was constitutive of Chilean nationality, which – after its original conception – became fixed; to Palacios’s mind, more recent immigrants to Chile, such as Italians and Jews, were so intrinsically different that they could never become truly Chilean.

In encouraging the immigration of inferior “Latin races”, Palacios argued that the government had abandoned the Chilean people, the *roto chileno*, “the big orphan, [who was] disinherited in his own country” despite being prepared to die for it.⁷⁶ *El roto* was commonly defined as a poor labourer, but Palacios chose to focus on this figure’s racial (*mestizo*) – as opposed to class – identity. Despite his protests against the social conditions in which *el roto* lived, Palacios attempted to use race as a way of transcending issues of class and party politics. In doing so, he recognised class as a social construct (class divisions could be improved, even erased), but not race (Chile’s racial origins simply needed to be protected).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

According to Chilean historian Luis Galdames, *Raza chilena* caused little reaction when it was first published: “The press was entirely unaware [...], no journalist had received a copy; it was displayed in the window of only one bookshop and that was in Valparaíso.”⁷⁷ However, due to the efforts of Diego Dublé Urrutia, a young diplomat and poet who worked for *El Ferrocarril* and applauded the publication of *Raza chilena* as “one of the most important events in the history of [Chilean] science and literature”, its ideas were soon being widely disseminated.⁷⁸ Indeed, by October 1905 one journalist had commented that the book was causing “a real commotion in Chile”.⁷⁹ Local and national newspapers published extracts from *Raza chilena* and reviews of it, in which a variety of people – historians, journalists, poets, politicians and teachers – excitedly discussed its strengths and weaknesses.⁸⁰

In *Reforming Chile*, Barr-Melej argued that the Radical Party of the early 1900s incorporated much of Palacios’s language on race into their political and cultural discourse.⁸¹ He claimed that *Raza chilena* was officially promoted through schools, citing a letter from the Asociación de Educación Nacional (AEN) to President Germán Riesco, which exalted the book as exemplary of the messages it wanted to impart through civic education.⁸² He also described how the AEN called on the Ministry of Education to set aside funds to acquire copies of *Raza chilena* for schools and popular libraries. However, Barr-Melej’s account relied on only one source (the newspaper *La Lei*, of 19th November 1905) and he acknowledged the distinct lack of information as to the outcome of the AEN’s proposal. Nonetheless, his suggestion that the political establishment took *Raza chilena* seriously is significant, even if its plans to promote the book in schools were never realised.

⁷⁷ Luis Galdames, ‘Raza Chilena’, *El Imparcial* (17th May 1905).

⁷⁸ Patricia Arancibia Clavel, ‘Recepción y crítica a Raza chilena: los comentarios de Miguel de Unamuno’, *Dimensión Histórica* 3 (1986), p. 68.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Clavel’s article noted the contributions of at least ten individuals, including the Spanish classicist Miguel de Unamuno. I have found references to a study of *Raza chilena* by Tomás Guevara (‘El libro *Raza chilena* y sus referencias sobre el sur’. Temuco: Imprenta Alemana, 1905) and it seems that Mapuche intellectual and political leader Manuel Mankelef translated some extracts from the book into Mapuzungun, but I have not yet been able to obtain these sources.

⁸¹ Barr-Melej, *Reforming Chile*.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 174-5.

A variety of sources therefore confirm that Palacios's arguments had an impact on Chilean society in the early 1900s, but the question remains as to what particular aspects of his argument were being disseminated or officially promoted. As noted by Clavel, most newspaper commentaries highlighted Palacios's "patriotic sentiment" instead of analysing its basic premise in any detail, and Carl Solberg underlined the author's importance only in terms of his protests against state immigration policies.⁸³ In this sense, it was the economic nationalism and xenophobia expounded in *Raza chilena* that was most well received by the establishment, not its assertion that the *mestizo* was the core of Chilean nationality.

Even though the original controversies soon died down, the text was popular enough to be republished in 1918, seven years after Palacios died. This second edition had Nicolás Palacios' name on the front cover and included a prologue by his half-brother Senen Palacios.⁸⁴ Contrary to the aforementioned newspaper reviews, Senen Palacios reasserted the author's admiration for the Araucanians, his passionate outbursts in their defence and Palacios's own Araucanian roots.⁸⁵ There is little information about the print run or readership of this second edition, but we do know that other writers soon attempted to perpetuate Palacios's ethnic interpretation of Chilean national identity. In 1926, for example, Alberto Cabero's *Chile y los chilenos* attempted to transform Palacios's *roto mestizo* into a national hero. However, as Miller has remarked, the endeavour was unsuccessful.⁸⁶

Hale has commented that Palacios' "peculiar version of racial nationalism [...] had lasting influence in Chile."⁸⁷ The main reason for such lasting influence was

⁸³ Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism*.

⁸⁴ Nicolás Palacios, *Raza chilena* (Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1918).

⁸⁵ Senen Palacios recalled how appalled his brother had been to find out that the state – not "foreign agents" – was responsible for taking the Araucanians' lands, removing them by force and pursuing them with "bullets and bayonets". Nicolás Palacios apparently jumped to their defence "with the roar of a lioness defending its cubs", writing inflammatory letters of protest in Iquique's local press. Earlier in the prologue, Senen Palacios claimed that their mother, doña Jesús Navarro, was Araucanian. See 'Recuerdos Intimos', in *ibid.*, p. 25 and p. 7 respectively.

⁸⁶ Miller, *In the Shadow of the State*, p. 236.

⁸⁷ Hale, 'Political and Social Ideas', p. 409.

probably its appropriation by Francisco Antonio Encina (1874-1965), one of the main creators of the dominant right-wing version of Chilean national identity.⁸⁸ In *La literatura histórica de Chile* Encina noted how Palacios's "rare psychological astuteness [had] allowed him to see the reality of Chile's ethnic composition".⁸⁹ Encina agreed that Chile's *conquistadores* "carried more Gothic blood in [their] veins than most Spanish people and more than the colonisers of the other American countries";⁹⁰ like Palacios, he claimed that the Araucanian still formed an important part of the Chilean national character. However, this is where the similarity ended, for Encina envisaged the Araucanians' role as a purely negative one, indeed, he blamed Chile's "national economic ineptitude" at least partly on their barbarism and "repugnance towards work".⁹¹ So, rather than reinforcing the ideas of Palacios, Encina's writings provided a perfect example of the way in which Chile's elite were able to successfully incorporate more popularised versions of nationhood into their conservative narrative and thus subvert them.⁹²

An article written by Marxist historian Julio César Jobet, in 1953, offers a further illustration of Palacios's long-lasting relevance to national debates.⁹³ Jobet drew on Palacios's account of the social problems afflicting Chile in the early twentieth century as an indictment against North American and European imperialist agendas. Despite the doctor's anti-Communist beliefs, Jobet appropriated Palacios's narrative to serve his own view of history, applauding his "constant interest in the fate of the workers, in whom he found many virtues and positive qualities. He has [helped to underline] their miserable living conditions, attributing this to the stubborn and selfish character of the country's governing elite."⁹⁴

⁸⁸ His most influential texts include *Nuestra Inferioridad Económica* (1911) and *Historia de Chile* (20 volumes written between 1940-1952).

⁸⁹ Francisco Encina, *La literatura histórica de Chile y el concepto actual de la historia* (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1935), p.19.

⁹⁰ Encina, *La literatura histórica*, p. 23.

⁹¹ Encina, *Nuestra inferioridad económica* (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, [1911] 1955), p. 114.

⁹² For a useful account of Encina's contribution to Chilean historiography see Charles Griffin, 'Francisco Encina and Revisionism in Chilean History', *Hispanic American Historical Review* 3 (February 1957), pp. 1-28.

⁹³ Julio Cesar Jobet, 'Nicolás Palacios y Raza Chilena, Francisco Encina y su Historia de Chile', *Revista de Educación* 61 (November 1953), pp. 9-17.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Being incorporated into the Marxist view of Chilean history, however, did not prevent Palacios's work also being used by the extreme right.⁹⁵ According to Sandra McGee Deutsch, Jorge González von Marées of the National Socialist Movement was greatly influenced by Palacios's ideas.⁹⁶ She also claimed that it was "elements close to Pinochet" who decided to reprint *Raza chilena* in 1988.⁹⁷ Indeed, the prologue to this most recent edition – the only edition to emerge between 1918 and 2005 – was written by Miguel Serrano, a fervent believer in Nazi ideals. It therefore comes of little surprise that he focused on Palacios's ideas about eugenics and "the fitness of the race".⁹⁸ It is also worth noting that Serrano's account of the reception history of *Raza chilena* differed starkly from Barr-Melej's. According to Serrano, the doctor's writings had been "silenced for almost one hundred years". Schools and universities, he said, had consistently ignored Palacios and, as a result, Chileans of the 1980s found themselves "on the verge of an ethnic disaster".⁹⁹

Cristián Gazmuri, director of the prestigious Instituto de Historia at the Universidad Católica, has refuted Palacios' theories on the ethnic origins of *chilenidad*.¹⁰⁰ Chile's *conquistadores*, he said, came from Andalucía and Extremadura, which were not "Gothic enclaves", and apparently it was not Araucanian women but instead the Picunche and Huilliche who mixed with the Spanish. More pertinent, however, was his claim that Palacios was a rather "unbalanced character", indeed, that he "suffered from a mental illness, depression or some kind of neurosis, or possibly psychosis."¹⁰¹ By calling Palacios's intellectual capacities into question (he described him as "poco serio") Gazmuri rejected attempts to revive his ideas. Yet, surely the fact that Gazmuri deemed it worth the trouble to refute Palacios in the first place is an indication that the latter's ideas remained influential.

⁹⁵ McGee Deutsch, Sandra, *Las Derechas. The Extreme Right in Argentina, Brazil and Chile, 1890-1939* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 320. This edition was published by Ediciones Colchagua.

⁹⁸ Miguel Serrano, 'Nicolás Palacios, un pensador excepcional en el mundo de habla castellana' in *ibid.*, p. xxxiii.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xxxvi

¹⁰⁰ e. g., Gazmuri, 'Notas sobre la influencia del racismo...'

More recently, Mapuche art historian José Ancán described Palacios's "peculiar attempt to create a cultural-ethnic Chile" as a "shining apparition" in the early 1900s, and Chilean anthropologist Sonia Montecino praised Palacios's efforts to challenge elite constructions of national identity.¹⁰² Having noted his contribution to historiographical debates (particularly his rejection of traditional Europhile versions of Chilean-ness), however, she recognised that he was "among the least respected" intellectuals in Chile. Despite the sensation caused by Palacios, then, Miller's point that his *mestizo* "never acquired the archetypal status accorded to the gaucho in Argentina" appears to be valid.¹⁰³ His work was discussed at length but did not break the dominance of the conservative version of national identity at the time. Nonetheless, he was important because he provided an alternative narrative, focusing on the ethnic dimensions of *chilenidad*, an issue that was explored by many other Chilean intellectuals throughout the twentieth century.

Alejandro Lipschutz (1883-1980): A Marxist rereading of Chilean history

Of Lithuanian descent, Alejandro Lipschutz went to Chile in 1926 – rather by chance – and became a Chilean national in 1930. He had qualified as a doctor of medicine in 1907 (from the University of Gottingen) and it was his achievements in the biological sciences that caused the Universidad de Concepción in Chile's "frontier zone" to offer him a teaching post in 1926.¹⁰⁴ The invitation came at an opportune moment because Lipschutz had recently been diagnosed with tuberculosis and told that the only possible remedy was a change of climate. Lipschutz therefore accepted the post in Concepción with great enthusiasm and shortly after his arrival founded the university's Instituto de Fisiología. This he directed until 1937, when he moved to Santiago, having been invited by the government of Arturo Alessandri to

¹⁰¹ Gazmuri, *El Chile del centenario*, p. 18.

¹⁰² José Ancán, introduction to Mankelef and Guevara, *Historias de Familias*, p. 13 and Sonia Montecino, *Madres y huachos*, p.131.

¹⁰³ Miller, *In the Shadow of the State*, p. 236.

¹⁰⁴ He had recently published *The Internal Secretions of the Sex Glands: the problems of the "puberty gland"* (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1924), which earned him much acclaim in scientific circles. Prior to this he had been awarded the 'Charles L. Meyer Cancer Award' (1919), the fruits of five years research into human eating patterns.

become director of the Instituto de Medicina Experimental. By the 1960s he was working at the prestigious Universidad de Chile and in 1970 was awarded the *Premio Nacional de Ciencia*

Despite drawing his income from experimental science, Lipschutz was also widely acclaimed for his anthropological endeavours, particularly his studies of indigenous peoples. The *Premio Nacional de Ciencia*, for instance, was bestowed upon him not only for his work in endocrinology but also for his cultural *indigenismo*.¹⁰⁵ The forays of a biological scientist into anthropology – he was a founding member of the Sociedad Chilena de Antropología – were illustrative of the way in which anthropology in Chile, as elsewhere, developed only gradually from a vocation of amateurs into an academic specialisation. That said, it is worth noting that anthropology emerged earlier in Chile than in many other Latin American countries. The Museo de Etnografía y Antropología was founded in 1912. By the 1930s, Ricardo Latcham was giving a course on ‘Pre-History’ in the Faculty of Philosophy and Education at the Universidad de Chile and by the 1950s Grete Mostny, an Austrian anthropologist, was also teaching there. In 1953 a ‘Programme of Historical and Social Anthropology’ was created in the university’s Geography Department and a Centre of Anthropological Studies was established a year later.

Lipschutz’s *indigenismo* also needs to be understood within the context of his Marxist politics. Again Lipschutz is part of a bigger picture here, for there was a comparatively strong Marxist current in Chilean historiography and party politics from the early twentieth century onwards.¹⁰⁶ Lipschutz was a member of the Chilean Communist Party, who was actively involved in Salvador Allende’s administration and persecuted for it when Pinochet came to power in 1973.¹⁰⁷ Opposition newspapers accused the Popular Unity government of putting significant pressure on

¹⁰⁵ See www.gobiernodechile.cl

¹⁰⁶ Tomás Moulian, ‘El marxismo en Chile: producción y utilización’, in José Joaquín Brunner, Martín Hopenhayn, Tomás Moulian and Ludolfo Paramio, *Paradigmas de conocimiento y práctica social en Chile* (Santiago: FLACSO, 1993).

¹⁰⁷ Lipschutz’s house was ransacked on several occasions and his collection of books, which he had donated to the *Universidad de Chile*, was destroyed.

academics to “perform a useful social function” and of allotting the task of writing history exclusively to those who supported the revolution.¹⁰⁸ Long before this, though, Lipschutz had already underlined his political motives for rewriting the history of Latin America: “As the young Marx said 120 years ago, it is not just about interpreting the world but also about changing it. And I confess that my temperament does not allow me to contemplate ‘The racial problem in the conquest of Latin America and *mestizaje*’ [the title of one of his books] without thinking about my own actions to change the American world.”¹⁰⁹ Later in *El problema racial* (1963) he stated explicitly: “I am propagating the liberation of the Hispanic-American man from the chains of neo-feudalism.”¹¹⁰

The significance of Lipschutz’s work, then, lies in its early attempts to bring anthropology and history together to rewrite Chile’s national narrative as well its efforts to surpass traditional Marxist interpretations of ethnic and racial issues. It is also important to note that Lipschutz was writing during the same period as Jaime Eyzaguirre (1930s-1960s). Lipschutz was not as well known as other *indigenistas* such as the Peruvian José Mariátegui, but his work – particularly via organisations such as the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano – was certainly being widely disseminated. Lipschutz and Eyzaguirre’s ideas and competing versions of national history were circulating at the same time, and while Eyzaguirre’s narrative achieved a more dominant status, it would be a mistake to rule out Lipschutz’s influence.

For Lipschutz, indigenous peoples were the most repressed sector of Latin American society. Indigenous cultures – their “traditional” communal way of life – were also seen as models of socialism. Lipschutz produced six principal works on the subject, five of which were printed by mainstream publishing houses in Chile.¹¹¹ The last –

¹⁰⁸ Allen Woll, *A Functional Past*, p. 1.

¹⁰⁹ Alejandro Lipschutz, *El problema racial en la conquista de América y el mestizaje* (Santiago: Editora Austral, 1963), p. 22.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹¹¹ *Indoamérica y raza india* (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1937); *El indoamericanismo y el problema racial en las Américas* (Santiago: Nascimento, 1944); *La comunidad indígena en América Latina y Chile* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1956); *El problema racial en la conquista de*

Marx y Lenin en América Latina y los problemas indigenistas – was published by Cuba's *Casa de las Américas*.¹¹² Issues of race and ethnicity, as Lipschutz saw it, were fundamental to understanding the inequalities and class struggle in Latin America. They were also central to his interpretation of Chilean national history.

In *Indoamérica y raza india* (1937), which focused on Latin America as a whole, Lipschutz refuted the biological theory of race, asserting instead the dynamic and changing nature of human societies. He denounced the idea that some peoples were biologically superior to others as completely absurd and he ridiculed the notion that racial mixing produced a degenerative people.¹¹³ More specifically, he criticised the way in which such ideas had been abused by ruling elites for the purposes of political propaganda.¹¹⁴

That indigenous populations were decreasing in Latin America was not explained by biological factors, Lipschutz argued, but instead by the destruction of their traditional social organisation.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, this decrease in numbers did not necessarily imply indigenous communities' pending extinction as so many academics presumed. To the contrary, Lipschutz cited many examples of their cultural resistance and survival.¹¹⁶ His main argument, however, was that the category of "Indian" could not be understood outside its social context. Indians, he held, were allocated a specific economic role (slavery, forced labour) by the Spanish colonisers and this continued, albeit in a slightly different guise, after independence. They were nearly always the poorest sectors of national societies, included within the peasant masses and subjected to the same feudal land-owning system. According to Lipschutz, while signs of physical and spiritual degeneration in indigenous peoples could not be denied – by the 1930s they were often weaker and shorter than

América y el mestizaje (Santiago: Editora Austral, 1963); *Perfil de Indoamérica en nuestro tiempo* (Santiago: Andrés Bello, 1968).

¹¹² *Marx y Lenin en América Latina y los problemas indigenistas* (Havana: Casa de las Américas, 1974).

¹¹³ Alejandro Lipschutz, *Indoamérica y raza india*, p. 49.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15. While his focus was Latin American governments' discrimination against indigenous peoples, Lipschutz also alluded to the anti-Jewish propaganda sweeping Europe in the late 1930s.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

the average Chilean, and more likely to succumb to alcoholism – this had nothing to do with biological factors. It was instead the result of the social conditions in which they lived: the lack of education, running water, electricity, warm clothing and healthy food.¹¹⁷

Lipschutz concluded *Indoamérica y raza india* by promoting the cultural values of Latin America's indigenous peoples and asserting their active and crucial role in national societies, an argument which remained prominent in his work for the next thirty-five years. In *Indoamericanismo y el problema racial en las Américas* (1944) the author turned to the specific case of Chile, claiming that “the Araucanians” – in later books he changed his terminology and referred to them as Mapuche – had “participated fully in the formation of our Chilean race”.¹¹⁸ In contrast to many academics who presented Mapuche society as one homogeneous whole, Lipschutz stressed its internal diversity. He also claimed that there was nothing to distinguish between Mapuche and “white” Chileans in physical or intellectual terms. Instead, he said, it was their culture and language (as well as social discrimination) which set the Mapuche apart.¹¹⁹

Lipschutz's *indoamericanismo* promoted the economic and cultural vindication of the indigenous masses in Chile and Latin America and urged the need for agrarian reform, which he saw as crucial to the continent's future *resurrección indoamericana*. By the 1970s, he perceived that this “resurrection” had already become a reality for Chile's Mapuche population: “it is more than evident that there is a fervent desire for cultural resurgence among the Mapuche of Chile”.¹²⁰ One only had to look at the poetry of Sebastian Queupul (which will be discussed in Chapter Five), Lipschutz said, to appreciate Mapuche people's growing confidence in their cultural and spiritual values.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹¹⁸ Lipschutz, *Indoamericanismo y el problema racial en las Américas*, p. 159.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

In *El problema racial* (1963), the impact of the Spanish conquest was summarised as the export of degenerate European feudalism to America, the evolution of a Spanish American neo-feudalism and the “devastating pogrom of the Indian world.”¹²¹ He emphasised that indigenous peoples did not simply disappear or “die off” after contact with Spanish invaders, but were instead exterminated. He also attacked historiography’s obsession with the *conquistadores* (“the big personalities”) and its ignorance about the principal actors in Latin American history – the Indian and *mestizo* masses. To counter this tendency (apparent in the works of Eyzaguirre among others) Lipschutz reduced Hernán Cortés to a mere “chief of bandits” and described the death of Pedro de Valdivia, at the hands of the Araucanians, as “divine justice”.¹²² However, he refuted criticism that he was merely propagating the anti-Spanish *leyenda negra*,¹²³ explaining that while he did indeed include documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which attested to the atrocities committed by the Spanish,¹²⁴ his scientific analysis had no intention of encouraging “disdain” towards any particular nation. Conquest, Lipschutz stated, “always emanates from *señorialismo*”. Hence, it was not Spain that he denounced, but the cruelty and injustice of the system their colonial experiment perpetuated. In this way, he made conquest and the destruction that came with it a class issue, as Mariátegui had done before him.¹²⁵

Lipschutz’s last book *Marx y Lenin en América Latina y el problema indigenista* (1974) began with an analysis of Chilean population statistics from 1964 which, according to the author, showed that Chilean peasants were worse off than those in Russia had been in 1905. The rationale behind the use of such statistics was to

¹²⁰ Lipschutz, *Marx y Lenin*, p. 128.

¹²¹ Lipschutz, *El problema racial en la conquista*, p. 22.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹²³ Gonzalo Vial wrote a review of *El problema racial*, in which he criticised Lipschutz for having exaggerated the negative aspects of Spanish colonialism. See ‘Reseñas’, *Historia* 3 (1963), p. 424.

¹²⁴ Lipschutz, *El problema racial en la conquista*, pp. 94-125.

¹²⁵ The evidence suggests, however, that Lipschutz was not familiar with Mariátegui’s work. I have found only one reference to Mariátegui in all six of the books discussed here. Contemplating the idea that autonomous republics could exist and be recognised within nation-states, he said “I do not know if similar concepts have already been developed by Garcilaso, Tupac Amaru or Mariátegui. It could be that our concept was foreign to them.” See *Perfil de Indoamérica*, p. 102. Furthermore, the bibliographies accompanying most of Lipschutz’s texts did not include Mariátegui.

profess the inevitability of revolution in Chile.¹²⁶ Lipschutz then moved on to the “ethnic question” and called the reader’s attention to Lenin’s *Ley de la tribu* and *Ley de la gran nación*, which if applied to Latin America allowed for the existence of autonomous Maya, Quechua or Mapuche republics within the national state.¹²⁷ Indigenous communities would have an allegiance to their own people but also to the larger national society. It is sometimes unclear whether Lipschutz meant a Chilean or Latin American nation. Indeed, he discussed the possibility of multiple federal republics with their own governments and parliaments but integrated into a ‘Union of Latin American Federal Republics’, which would have its own supreme government.¹²⁸ In specific regard to the Mapuche, he thought they would soon be looking for “the legal recognition of their tribal or national autonomy, within the framework of the greater Chilean nation”.¹²⁹ Lipschutz thus raised the question of double nationality, which José Bengoa has explored in some of his more recent work on Latin America’s indigenous peoples.¹³⁰ Lipschutz was evidently integrationist, but argued for an integration that allowed the Mapuche to continue being culturally different. He also acknowledged their status as a ‘nation’, an innovative discourse in the 1970s, and argued that it would be impossible for a Mapuche nation to exist within the greater Chilean nation if neo-colonialism were not first superseded by a Communist system.

Despite his fervent Communist beliefs, Lipschutz appeared to transcend the conventional Marxist approach to modernisation. He did not, for example, subscribe to the view that class would eventually erase ethnicity: his work perceived race and ethnicity as strongly connected to class, but not reduced to it. While Lipschutz largely understood “Indian” identity to be a socio-economic construct, he did not ignore the important cultural elements of this identity and he repeatedly stressed that indigenous cultures were not about to disappear in Latin America. Most Chileans, he

¹²⁶ Lipschutz, *Marx y Lenin...*, pp. 47-50.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.130.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ José Bengoa, *La emergencia indígena en América Latina* (Santiago: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000).

wrote, liked to think that there were very few Mapuche left in the country, and he recalled being insulted by the Chilean press for having declared in an interview abroad that Chile was still home to at least 400,000 Mapuche.¹³¹ Lipschutz noted the irony of such criticisms, given that he was quoting from contemporary government population statistics. More important, however, was Lipschutz's emphasis on the ability of Mapuche culture to change, adapt and modernise without necessarily becoming less Mapuche. Speaking Spanish, wearing a mini-skirt, living in a modern house, he professed, did not inevitably mean that someone had "lost" their Mapuche identity; it simply implied a renegotiated version of "Mapuche-ness".¹³² In making such arguments, Lipschutz propounded a far more fluid and flexible notion of identity than that adopted by many Chilean academics in 2005.

Lipschutz's ideas have had more impact in Chilean intellectual and political circles than scholars such as Jorge Larraín have acknowledged.¹³³ It would be overstating the case to say that he managed to form an *indigenista* movement in Chile, but evidence shows that his work was widely disseminated both nationally and internationally. By the 1930s, Lipschutz was already being invited to talk about *indigenismo* and Latin America's racial problems at state institutions such as the Universidad de Chile, despite having only recently embarked on this area of research. As a result of these university conferences and talks, his articles were published in many Chilean journals.¹³⁴ These also reviewed his work, which even if critical provided publicity and ensured a wider readership. Lipschutz's books were accessible in libraries and high street bookshops (finances permitting), and he was actively involved in the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, contributing to many of its publications and events.¹³⁵ Even right-wing Chilean newspapers, such as *El Mercurio*, reported on the positive reception Lipschutz received abroad.¹³⁶

¹³¹ Lipschutz, *Marx y Lenin*, p. 132.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 129.

¹³³ Jorge Larraín, *Identidad chilena* (Santiago: Ediciones LOM, 2001), p. 233.

¹³⁴ *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía* 127 (1959) and 139 (1971); *Aurora* (1968); *Boletín de la Universidad de Chile* 106 (1970).

¹³⁵ See *América Indígena* Vols. VIII (1948), XIII (1953) and XXVI (1966).

¹³⁶ *El Mercurio* reprinted an article from the Associated Press, Mexico (3rd September 1960) which praised Lipschutz's contribution to continental *indigenista* debates.

That Lipschutz's work became incorporated into a wider discursive framework of *indigenismo* in Chile can also be seen in the number of scholars who have referred to this aspect of his work.¹³⁷ Since Lipschutz's death, several prominent academics studying Mapuche history, such as José Bengoa, Rolf Foerster and Sonia Montecino, have included his texts in their bibliographies and quoted from them extensively, thus his work has been perpetuated through theirs.¹³⁸ Lipschutz also discussed his work with many people in Chile at the time of writing.¹³⁹ Indeed, in 1963 Neruda described him as "the most important man in Chile".¹⁴⁰ All of this suggests that Lipschutz's work did not emerge from a vacuum within Chile, but was instead part of a larger intellectual debate.

As an honorary member of the Instituto Indigenista de Chile, Lipschutz was also involved in many political meetings about the "Mapuche question", which meant his ideas spread well beyond university lecture theatres and conference halls. One such meeting took place in the Biblioteca Nacional in 1959, as part of a workshop organised by the Instituto Indigenista de Chile together with the Universidad de Chile and the Mapuche organisation La Corporación Araucana.¹⁴¹ The subject of debate was indigenous land legislation and over one hundred Mapuche community leaders attended. It was here that Lipschutz argued against the liquidation of indigenous communal lands and indigenous peoples' cultural assimilation into the Chilean nation, promoting measures such as bilingual teaching in schools. Via such

¹³⁷ Frederick Pike described him as "one of the most active combatants of Indian prejudice in mid-twentieth century Chile." Xavier Albó mentioned Lipschutz several times in his work on 'Andean Peoples in the Twentieth Century', highlighting his views on indigenous land laws in Chile in the 1930s and 1940s. See Pike, 'Aspects of class relations in Chile...', p. 30 and Albó, 'Andean Peoples in the Twentieth Century' in Frank Salomon and Stuart B. Schwartz (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*, Vol. 3 (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), pp. 816-823.

¹³⁸ José Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo mapuche, Siglos XIX y XX* (Santiago: Ediciones Sur, 1985); Rolf Foerster and Sonia Montecino, *Organizaciones, Líderes y Contiendas Mapuches, 1900-1970* (Santiago: CEDEM, 1988).

¹³⁹ These included Tomás Lago, director of the *Museo de Arte Popular* in Santiago; Olga Poblete and Alvaro Jara, history lecturers at the *Universidad de Chile*; Luis Sandoval, President of the *Sociedad Chilena de Antropología*; Luis Corvalán, a well-known Communist Party senator and Francisco Coloane, a Chilean novelist.

¹⁴⁰ See Neruda's prologue to *El problema racial*, p. xi.

¹⁴¹ Lipschutz, *El perfil de Indoamérica*, p. 111

meetings in state institutions, the debates to which Lipschutz contributed were given official recognition and fed through to parliamentary discussions on the “indigenous problem”. The greatest testimony to Lipschutz’s political influence, however, was Allende’s request that he be brought in to advise the government on how to incorporate Mapuche communities into the agrarian reform process of the early 1970s.¹⁴² Lipschutz subsequently became involved in drawing up the new Indigenous Law passed by congress in 1972, and must have had a key role to play because Allende specifically mentioned Lipschutz’s work when he presented the new legislation to parliament in 1971.¹⁴³ There is, then, much evidence to suggest that the influence of Chile’s leading *indigenista* was not as “limited” as Larraín claims.

Rolf Foerster (1952 –) and anthropology’s contribution to alternative historical narratives

Rolf Foerster, of German ancestry but a Chilean national since birth, is a widely acclaimed anthropologist who teaches at the Universidad de Chile. He was trained within the discipline institutionalised by scholars such as Lipschutz and has frequently drawn on the latter’s studies of Mapuche culture and history. In a private interview Foerster talked of a continuing rift between the historical and anthropological disciplines in Chile, noting the conservative approach of many history departments, their reluctance to use non-traditional sources, such as oral testimonies, and their failure to incorporate new theoretical perspectives on issues of race and ethnicity.¹⁴⁴ For his own part, Foerster has surpassed the “presentism” still found in many anthropological studies, focusing on Mapuche political organisations and religious affiliations, and how these have changed during the twentieth century. In this sense, Foerster has brought anthropology and history together in his work. Having published several key texts and many journal articles, and been actively

¹⁴² Lipschutz published several reports on the matter, e.g., Alejandro Lipschutz and Bernardo Berdichewsky, *Para una política de acción indigenista en el area araucana* (Santiago: CORA, 1970).

¹⁴³ ‘Mensaje de su Excelencia, el President de la República’, *Sesiones de la Cámara de Diputados*, Sesión 39a, 19th May 1971, p. 2783.

¹⁴⁴ Interview, Rolf Foerster, *Universidad de Chile*, Santiago, 11th November 2002.

involved in regional, national and international conferences, Foerster has had an important role to play in recent academic debates about the social and cultural reality of Mapuche society. He has also reached out to a wider readership by publishing articles in mainstream right-wing newspapers, such as *El Mercurio*, as well as more alternative publications such as the *Revista de Crítica Cultural* and *Rocinante*. Moreover, unlike Villalobos, he was included in the discussion sessions of the recent historical truth commission on Chile's indigenous peoples. Overall, Foerster's contribution to the scholarship on Mapuche history has been praised by Mapuche and non-Mapuche alike, for its impressive array of sources, in-depth research and analysis, and refusal to subscribe to overly romanticised images of indigenous peoples.

Writing primarily during and since the 1980s, Foerster has incorporated important elements of the postmodernist debate into his work. Unlike many of his predecessors, he does not purport to provide the whole "truth" on Mapuche/Chilean history and he has explicitly refrained from making claims "on behalf" of the Mapuche. Moreover, he has presented racial and ethnic identities as relational and shifting rather than as reified objects. Not seeking to provide a definitive explanation as to what constitutes "Mapuche-ness", Foerster has explored it as a process, a sense of belonging or a political stance that is constantly being renegotiated according to a variety of internal and external factors. Incorporating such theoretical developments, Foerster's work offers an insightful and innovative contribution to the historiographical debates on Mapuche and Chilean identities, dispelling many of the popular myths surrounding these imagined constructs.

Foerster's book *Organizaciones, Líderes y Contiendas Mapuches, 1900-1970*, co-authored with Sonia Montecino in 1988, provided a fragmentary reconstruction of the history of Mapuche political activism in Chile, using regional press reports, oral testimonies, manuscripts, material published by the organisations and

photographs.¹⁴⁵ The authors' main objectives were to understand and somehow transcend the "negative images of the indigenous world" that still predominated in Chile in the 1980s; they also sought to revise the oversimplified narrative about historical relations between Mapuche society and the Chilean state promoted by most school textbooks. Instead of depicting a primitive, folkloric and warlike Mapuche, the book focused on their place as political subjects who rejected state interference on many occasions but who also negotiated with the state and made demands on it which they expected to be met.

Taking the early 1900s as a starting point, Foerster and Montecino detailed the emergence and political trajectory of three separate Mapuche organisations: La Sociedad Caupolicán (1910), La Federación Araucana (1916) and La Unión Araucana (1926). Their political agendas differed according to the viewpoint taken towards their people's incorporation into the Chilean state. The first asserted equality between Mapuche and Chilean people and campaigned for improved education facilities in rural areas so that they might attain such equality in the work place and society more generally. It also denounced the violent abuses committed against Mapuche people such as the fire branding of Juan Painemal in 1913.¹⁴⁶ While protesting against the illegal usurpation of Mapuche lands, this organisation strongly favoured the division of Mapuche communities, for private property was perceived to be more in line with civilised and modernised society. The issue of the division of communal lands was to provide the backdrop for most debates among Mapuche political organisations from the early twentieth century onwards.

The Federación Araucana, on the other hand, voiced grave concerns over such land division and its leader Panguilef promoted what Foerster and Montecino referred to as "cultural traditionalism". While agreeing on the need for improved education opportunities, he attacked the state's assimilationist policies, promoting the cultural and ethnic difference of the Mapuche people. In public he usually spoke in

¹⁴⁵ Rolf Foerster and Sonia Montecino, *Organizaciones, Líderes y Contiendas Mapuches, 1900-1970* (Santiago: CEDEM, 1988).

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18

Mapuzungun, he set up the ‘Araucanian Theatre Company’, which toured different cities between 1916-1919 presenting “traditional” Mapuche dress, songs and ceremonies to captivated audiences, and he pleaded with parents not to have their children baptised by the Catholic Church. At the organisation’s eleventh annual congress in 1931, Panguilef went as far as to propose the constitution of a *república indígena*. The Unión Araucana, on the contrary, was formed under the tutelage of Capuchin friars and declared its battle to be against the “*grandes males* currently afflicting the Araucanian people”: ignorance, alcoholism, polygamy, agricultural backwardness and disunity.¹⁴⁷ In its bid to promote the “progress” and “regeneration” of Mapuche society through the enforced disappearance of its traditional customs, the Unión Araucana unsurprisingly had the support of the local press and state institutions.

Foerster and Montecino traced the development of these organisations: their contrasting destinies, their successes and failures, their expansion and dissolution. They also investigated the large number of organisations that sprung from or emerged in opposition to these first examples of non-traditional political mobilisation. Their book highlighted the disagreements over issues such as the division of communal lands, the need for the Mapuche society’s “civilisation” and the value placed on traditional customs. It underlined the dilemmas involved in determining which political path to follow: whether to negotiate with state authorities and the mainstream political parties or to assume a more autonomous stance. By presenting an image of Mapuche society and politics as historically heterogeneous, the authors helped explain the Mapuche vote in the plebiscites of 1980 and 1988, when the Chilean public was surprised to discover that many Mapuche had voted in favour of Pinochet.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57

¹⁴⁸ Many Mapuche farmers supported the 1978 law that divided communal lands. They had negotiated with state officials, secured certain benefits from Pinochet’s government and voted for him as a result. Some communities even made him an honorary *llonkgo* (traditional chief). Others were engaged in guerrilla resistance or took a stand against the regime’s integrationist agenda by publicly

The most notable aspect of *Organizaciones, líderes y contiendas mapuches*, in terms of constructing alternative historical narratives, was its deployment of an abundance of existing evidence (from local newspapers and the organisations' reports) to demonstrate that Mapuche political organisations have existed since the early twentieth century. Most Chileans, whose information about the "Mapuche question" came only from newspapers such as *El Mercurio*, were unaware that this had been the case. By documenting Mapuche political activism from the 1910s,¹⁴⁹ the authors undermined the prevailing image of a dormant people who suddenly "awoke" in the 1990s, incited by foreign troublemakers (environmentalist and human rights organisations) and the failings of the 1993 Indigenous Law. This law, according to many editorials in *El Mercurio*, had made the mistake of granting official recognition to a non-existent ethnic heterogeneity, threatening the unity of the Chilean nation and questioning the fundamentals of private property rights. The historical narrative presented by Foerster and Montecino also provided evidence against the more "leftist" version of events, which claimed that Mapuche ethnic resurgence took place only when pushed to extreme limits under Pinochet and threatened with cultural extermination.

Xavier Albó has quoted extensively from Foerster and Montecino's work to highlight what he saw as the "singular case of the Mapuche in Chile".¹⁵⁰ That a political movement emerged around the defence of an ethnic identity relatively early in Chile formed an interesting counterpoint to other Andean nations, according to Albó, which in turn provides for a novel slant on the question of Chile's ethnic exceptionalism. Albó described the political programme launched by the Corporación Araucana (a result of divisions within the Sociedad Caupolicán) in the 1940s as the first example of an indigenous law proposed by indigenous people themselves.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, the impact made by this organisation was illustrated by

asserting their cultural difference, as was the case with the *Centros culturales* founded in 1978. In other words, Mapuche communities were as politically divided as they had always been.

¹⁴⁹ *Voz de la Frontera* (28th February 1910), cited in Foerster and Montecino, *Organizaciones y líderes*, p. 68.

¹⁵⁰ Albó, 'Andean Peoples...'

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 820.

the reaction of non-Mapuche politicians in Congress who complained that a “state within a state” was being created (the same concerns as those raised by right-wing politicians in relation to the constitutional recognition of indigenous peoples in Chile in 2005.)¹⁵² Using Foerster and Montecino as a major source, Mapuche political activism was thus portrayed to indigenous peoples in neighbouring countries as exemplary, when most secondary texts on Latin American indigenous movements still failed to mention Chile.

Albó also quoted from Foerster and Montecino to demonstrate the “high tide of Mapuche participation in political power” in the 1940s/1950s.¹⁵³ With the support of Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, Venancio Coñuepán, leader of the Corporación Araucana, won a congressional seat in 1945. In 1953 the same political organisation obtained two more congressional seats and won twelve municipal council seats. By this time Coñuepán had been given a ministerial post in the Departamento de Tierras y Colonización. Mapuche presence in the state and successive governments’ need to secure their support meant that some, although often piecemeal, concessions were granted to Mapuche organisations. Perhaps their biggest achievement was the creation of the Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas in 1953, which included Mapuche representatives and endorsed a special credit fund for development projects. Hence, the Concertación’s willingness to establish discussion tables and negotiate land legislation was not new. Neither is Mapuche participation in state institutions nor Mapuche protests against such participation a novel phenomenon. The debate on Mapuche participation in the state is more highly charged in the 2000s and some Mapuche organisations have undoubtedly taken on a more radical and violent stance (hence newspapers’ attempts to treat them as terrorists), but the issues at stake are similar.

Foerster has also produced important work on Mapuche religiosity and the work of Protestant missionaries – mainly Pentecostals – among Mapuche communities in

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 819.

southern Chile.¹⁵⁴ His research demonstrated the way in which cultural and ethnic identities changed by both breaking and establishing new links with the past. In a similar vein to Lipschutz, Foerster argued that Mapuche people had not become any “less Mapuche” because they appropriated elements of Pentecostal teachings. Instead, they had renegotiated what it meant to be Mapuche. Herein lies Foerster’s greatest contribution to historical debates on national identity: his emphasis on the Mapuche as political subjects capable of reconstructing their own identities and myths. His investigation of political organisations and changing religious affiliation testified to the internal diversity and dynamism of Mapuche society and explored how Mapuche identity had been imagined both in resistance to and negotiation with larger national structures.

Foerster has been criticised by several Mapuche intellectuals for failing to actively support the Mapuche “cause”, but they have generally reacted positively to his academic work, acknowledging his efforts to produce a more nuanced version of Mapuche history. They have also been able to draw and elaborate upon Foerster’s work in their own academic investigations. In 2005 there are many Mapuche working within Chilean academia, teaching and writing their own versions of Mapuche history. Due to a lack of finances, the fundamentally conservative nature of many academic institutions in Chile, and some people’s reluctance to participate in the latter, Mapuche intellectuals’ work is more easily accessible on the Internet than in libraries. Indeed, there is a notable abundance of online journals that publish their work.¹⁵⁵ There is also a growing number of printed publications which include articles by Mapuche academics, such as *Rocinante*, and there are organisations such as *Liwen* in Temuco, run by Pablo Mariman and José Ancán, specifically dedicated to collecting and investigating Mapuche historical documents. *Liwen* has its own journal and has recently produced much innovative work on Mapuche history. Mapuche academics often reinforce a perception of Mapuche society as politically and territorially autonomous from Chile (as a utopian ideal for the future) but,

¹⁵⁴ Rolf Foerster, *Introducción a la religiosidad mapuche* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1995).

¹⁵⁵ See, for example, articles from *Akintuwze* and *Nuke Mapu* published on www.ulmapu.cl, www.soc.uu.se and www.mapuche.cl

drawing on Foerster's work, they debate the way in which Mapuche and Chilean histories are intertwined. Some historians, such as Pablo Mariman, have complemented Foerster and Montecino's study on Mapuche political organisations, looking into certain themes or people in more detail.¹⁵⁶ Others have chosen to focus on the process of urbanisation (directly linked to education and the growth of the Mapuche political movement) and how this has affected Mapuche integration into as well as resistance against Chilean national society.¹⁵⁷

Pascual Coña (– 1927) and the Chilean state's occupation of Araucanía

Pascual Coña was a *cacique* (community chief) from Puerto Saavedra who, according to his own estimates, was born in the late 1840s/ early 1850s. Before he died in October 1927, Coña recounted his life story to a Capuchin missionary, Father Ernesto Wilhelm of Moesbach, who transcribed it in Mapuzungun and then translated it into Spanish. Analysis of the bilingual text needs to consider the power relations at play in its production, particularly in regard to its translation from Mapuzungun into Spanish.¹⁵⁸ It also needs to take into account Moesbach's motives for writing and publishing Coña's history. However, the main concern here is to outline the trajectory of its reception as a historical text. As a low-key production in 1930 that became a mainstream text in the mid-1990s, it provides an illustrative example of the way in which discourses of nationhood changed during the twentieth century. This section examines the significance of Coña's testimony within the postmodernist intellectual framework that has made it a best seller, but also discusses the context in which it was first produced as well as instances of its republication prior to the 1990s. In doing so, it brings together some of the points raised in preceding sections of this chapter and highlights the competing national narratives that can emerge from the same text.

¹⁵⁶ Pablo Mariman, 'Coñuepán en el parlamento de 1947. Argumentos y propuestas de la Corporación Araucana', *Liwen* 5 (1999), pp. 157-174.

¹⁵⁷ José Ancán and Margarita Calfuqueo, 'Retorno al país mapuche...'

¹⁵⁸ For an interesting discussion of the relationship between the informant and the academic or missionary see José Ancán's introduction to Tomás Guevara and Manuel Mankelef, *Ultimas familias* (Temuco: Liwen, 2000).

What is now deemed a “classic” in Mapuche historiography, by Mapuche and non-Mapuche academics alike, was first published as extracts in the *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía* between 1929 and 1935.¹⁵⁹ That such a well-known journal incorporated part of Coña’s testimony into twenty successive issues would suggest that it was enthusiastically received within specialist academic circles. It was also published as a complete work by *Imprenta Cervantes* in 1930, entitled ‘Life and Customs of the Araucanian Indians in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century (Autobiography of the Indian Pascual Coña)’, with Moesbach as its author. This, however, was a relatively low-key production in *fascimile* format. Indeed, it seems that it was only through the intervention of German linguist Dr Rodolfo Lenz, who had a specific research interest in the Mapuche, that this edition appeared at all.

The prologue emphasised the value of Coña’s autobiography in terms of what it told the reader about the psychology of the Indian and the traditional customs of a people supposedly on the verge of extinction. Pascual Coña expressed the same pessimistic attitude in his opening lines, describing how Mapuche people were losing their customs, forgetting their history, even losing their native language as they became more “Chileanised”. In this sense, Coña’s testimony demonstrated that many Mapuche people themselves had absorbed the discourses of *mestizaje* dominant at the time.

The book provided a wealth of information about the agricultural practices, social organisation, domestic life, housing, marriage customs and gender relations of Mapuche society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It also offered an illuminating account of the way in which Mapuche community leaders negotiated with religious missionaries, particularly the Capuchins. The text alluded to the positive aspects of the Capuchins’ work in Puerto Saavedra and their warm reception among many Mapuche families. Coña himself was sent to the local Capuchin school and later travelled to Santiago with the mission, an arrangement his parents accepted

¹⁵⁹ Sociedad Chilena de Historia y Geografía, *Índice de la Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, De los números 1 al 150* (Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1986).

because he would be given nice clothes and eat meat everyday. Once he had left, however, Coña received letters from his parents, showing just how much they anguished over the possibility of him abandoning his Mapuche roots.¹⁶⁰ Coña's testimony also demonstrated how Mapuche people manipulated the work of missionaries to serve their own interests, feigning conversion when in reality their religious beliefs changed very little. For example, Coña's nephew Segundo Coña married his first wife in the local Catholic Church, but then had three other wives whom he married "according to Mapuche custom".¹⁶¹ By presenting the protagonists as historical agents, well aware of the political processes in which they were involved, Coña's account countered the common assumption that Mapuche people were merely passive victims of modernisation

Of particular interest is Pascual Coña's version of the occupation campaigns (1860s-1880s.) Governments have traditionally depicted the invasion and conquest of Mapuche territory as a peaceful and unproblematic event. In his opening speech to congress in 1883 President Domingo Santa María declared: "We should congratulate ourselves all the more for this happy occurrence, especially because it was achieved without resorting to armed combat or inflicting any harm on the bellicose, but now pacified, inhabitants of those territories. Once aware that they would receive fair treatment, they were persuaded of the futility of their struggle and gave themselves up, quietly trusting in the civilising protection afforded by our laws."¹⁶² The Mapuche, it seems, were almost "wooed" into Chilean citizenship by the promised benefits of "civilisation", as well as the abundant supplies of alcohol proffered by government officials. Villalobos supported this version of events, outlining the campaigns in rather mechanical terms (which forts were established when and where) and sidelining the violence and bloodshed involved.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Pascual Coña, *Memorias de un cacique mapuche* (Santiago: ICIRA, 1973), p. 41.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 315

¹⁶² 'Señor Excelencia El Presidente de la República en la Apertura del Congreso Nacional de 1883', Kew Public Records Office, FO 16/223 (1883), p. 144.

¹⁶³ See for example, Sergio Villalobos, *Breve historia de Chile* (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1987).

Since the 1980s, a counter history has emerged to challenge Villalobos' interpretation, underscoring the violent nature of the occupation campaigns, the atrocities committed by the Chilean military troops and the heroic but ultimately unsuccessful resistance mounted by Mapuche communities. Bengoa, for example, claimed that the 1881 rebellion was forever etched in the historical memory of this people.¹⁶⁴ "In this great insurrection", he said, "practically all Mapuche groups participated. There were leaders who opposed it and declared themselves neutral, but their *conas* followed the rebels." To Bengoa's mind, the Chilean army's response was not pacification but instead extermination.

Coña's testimony causes difficulties for these clear-cut oppositional views of history. Although he narrated the violence of the campaigns (the looting of Mapuche communities, the burning down of their homes and the execution of rebels),¹⁶⁵ Coña also described some atrocities committed by Mapuche people. He recalled being told of one incident in which Chilean officials were captured, tied up and had their hearts ripped out while still alive.¹⁶⁶ Coña's account suggested that the final military invasion occurred in response to a Mapuche uprising, which was instigated by leaders across the Andes, but not supported by all Mapuche.¹⁶⁷ Pascual Coña and Pascual Painemilla, who wanted Araucanía incorporated into the Chilean state, sided with the Chilean army and in doing so fought many of their own people.¹⁶⁸ Coña also insinuated that most people in their communities did the same. Some other leaders, such as Painén and Quilempán, refused to commit themselves, waiting to see which side looked the most likely victors.¹⁶⁹

Coña's memoirs thus underlined the variety of reactions within Mapuche society to Chilean occupation and the fact that, whether resisting or collaborating, the Mapuche were active participants in these events, taking decisions which best served

¹⁶⁴ Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo mapuche*, p. 285.

¹⁶⁵ In one section Coña recounted how the Chilean "monster" Patricio Rojas trapped Mapuche people alive inside their homes and then set fire to them. Coña, *Memorias*, p. 287.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 282-283.

their own personal interests. In addition, his account helped blur the boundaries between Chilean and Mapuche societies. He also recalled the political games that followed the campaigns, relating Painemilla's meeting with President Santa María in Santiago. "So many times I have lent my services to you Chileans", Painemilla proclaimed, "and I have captured so many animals for your governor in Toltén", but he was given nothing in return for his collaboration.¹⁷⁰ Accompanied by Coña, Painemilla then went to Argentina, met with President Julio Roca, complained of Santa María's ingratitude and was offered "everything [he] needed", even lands on which to settle down with his family.¹⁷¹ Such accounts suggest that the highest state authorities in Chile and Argentina took Mapuche leaders seriously or at least courted their favour.

Alternative histories of the pacification campaigns have therefore been written. The question remains, however, as to whether they have been widely read. As mentioned above, the first publication of Coña's memoirs (1930) was geared principally towards a specialist academic audience and largely inaccessible to the general public, although it could be read in fragmented form in the *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. Forty years later, during Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government, the work was republished by the Instituto de Capacitación e Investigación en Reforma Agraria.¹⁷² Two thousand hard-back copies were printed – a relatively large print run for the time – and it seems to have been relatively easy to obtain one of them. It is this edition which is most frequently cited in studies of Mapuche history and many foreign libraries, such as the British Library in London, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and the Library of Congress in Washington, hold a copy. It was no coincidence that this book was published by a state agency at a time when the government was trying to defend its agrarian reform programme. A history of Mapuche communities' loss of ancestral lands, their exploitation by local

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

¹⁷² There is some confusion as the exact date of this publication. The copy held in Senate House Library is a second edition, printed in 1973. However, some sources mention a 1971 edition and Bengoa referred to a 1970 reprint by ICIRA.

hacendados and their increasing poverty helped to justify the government's expropriation of large estates. It also promoted the idea that the Mapuche were one of the main beneficiaries of the revolutionary state's national project. The most important aspects of the 1973 edition, however, were its change of title from 'Life and Customs of the Araucanian Indians' to 'Memoirs of a Mapuche Leader' and the fact that Pascual Coña was recognised as its author.

There seems to have been at least one edition of Coña's memoirs published in the 1980s and several others since then, but it was the edition launched by Editores Pehuén in 1995 that received the most widespread publicity in Chilean newspapers. *El Mercurio* described it as "a truly exceptional document", which allowed readers to find out about the life and customs of the Mapuche, "a people who form part of our *ser nación*."¹⁷³ The same article also discussed the violence involved in the occupation campaigns and explicitly acknowledged Mapuche agency in such events. In their recent work on historical memory, Brian Loveman and Elizabeth Lira cited the occupation campaigns and the official stories surrounding these as a prime example of Chilean society's failure to deal with the conflicts of its past.¹⁷⁴ Newspaper commentaries such as that above, however, would suggest that the country's history of violence and repression has been debated. It is also the case that Coña's memoirs have opened up a debate on a topic that is still notoriously sensitive for many Mapuche in Chile, namely Mapuche collaboration in the campaigns.¹⁷⁵

Reviewed in mainstream national newspapers, the book was bound to be a success; in fact, it sold so many copies that Pehuén released a new paperback edition in 2000. For the first time the book's title appeared in Mapuzungun, 'Llongko Pascual Coña ni tuculpazugn', as well as Spanish (the text itself has always been in Mapuzungun and Spanish) on the front cover. The Biblioteca Nacional has promoted the book as

¹⁷³ Hernán Poblete, 'Las Memorias del Cacique', *El Mercurio*, supplement (7th April 1996), p. 2.

¹⁷⁴ Brian Loveman and Elizabeth Lira, *Las suaves cenizas del olvido. Vía chilena de reconciliación política, 1814-1932* (Santiago: Ediciones Lom, 1999).

¹⁷⁵ Discussions between a community elder, academics and students at the *Taller de Declasificación*, Hogar de Estudiantes Indígenas, Universidad de la Frontera, Temuco (September 2003) exemplified

“very important source material” for anyone studying Mapuche history and extracts from it were included in the ‘History’ and ‘Spanish Language and Communication’ teaching programmes of the early 2000s.¹⁷⁶ Having originally been used to support the theory that indigenous peoples were doomed to extinction, Coña’s testimony is now called upon to affirm the cultural resurgence of the Mapuche, to highlight this people’s ability to produce its own histories and resist assimilation into Chileanness. Significantly, the objective of its most recent publisher Editores Pehuén (‘Pehuén’ is the Mapuche term for pine tree) is to promote the “cultural awakening of Chile.”¹⁷⁷ Postcolonialism’s emphasis on the native view of history has thus transformed a marginalised history written over seventy-five years ago into a best seller in the early 2000s.

José Bengoa quoted expansively from Coña’s testimony throughout his *Historia del pueblo mapuche*, making use of Coña to write what he referred to as a forgotten history. The history has not been silenced because it was available in print in Coña’s testimony from the 1930s, but Bengoa gave it more coverage, perpetuating the Mapuche leader’s viewpoint through his own recreation of historical events. For example, Bengoa quoted Coña’s account of the shipwreck of the *Jovén Daniel* in 1849 to deny Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna’s narrative, according to which the Mapuche killed all sailors on the ship and kidnapped all the women in a customarily savage manner.¹⁷⁸ Coña related his mother’s version of events, which purported that only one man and his dog had been killed, not the whole crew. He also described how the women who had survived were taken to Boroa, where they grew accustomed to the indigenous way of life and did not want to leave when given the chance.

There are also some points, however, on which the histories communicated by Bengoa and Coña did not coincide. As mentioned previously, Coña’s testimony

this new willingness to question romanticised myths about Mapuche resistance during the occupation campaigns.

¹⁷⁶ www.memoriachilena.cl

¹⁷⁷ See www.pehuen.cl

helped dispel myths of a united people's heroic resistance against the Chilean army during the nineteenth-century occupation campaigns. Paradoxically, Bengoa quoted from Coña to support his version of the "insurrection on the coast", which reinforced such mythical narratives.¹⁷⁹ He presented Coña as a *cacique* who had not taken part in the uprising against the Chileans in 1881, indeed, who had collaborated with the Chileans, but he reduced such collaboration to a very small number of leaders whereas Coña's account indicates that it was far more widespread. Hence, Bengoa appropriated this leader's version of events but sidelined several aspects of it. Nonetheless, by referencing his memoirs, Bengoa validated them as an important historical source and incorporated Coña into historiographical debates on Chilean and Mapuche identities.

One particular incident in Coña's testimony – the punishment of a Mapuche farmer who stole animals from a neighbour – has also been made into a film by Maga Meneses called *Wichan* (1994). The aim of the film was to highlight the efficiency, fairness and notions of honour involved in Mapuche forms of justice, as opposed to the slow faceless bureaucratic Chilean system. The acclaimed Mapuche poet Lorenzo Aillapán was the leading actor and consequently found himself able to add his own voice and memories to Coña's history. A multi-layered version of history can thus be seen to have emerged via the film: Coña's version of events was interpreted by Moesbach, Maga Meneses and, finally, Aillapán. Taking control of this historical narrative, Mapuche cultural and political organisations have used it to justify certain demands made on the state in the 1990s and 2000s as well as to assert their dignity as a people. As shown here, a mass readership (and audience) – a recent phenomenon in Coña's case – allows for multiple interpretations of the same text. Even as a low-key production in the 1930s, however, Coña's testimony both countered and supported dominant narratives of nationhood at the same time. Its trajectory as a literary and historical text consequently acts as an excellent example

¹⁷⁸ Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo mapuche*, p. 164.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

of the way in which competing identity discourses have co-existed throughout the twentieth century.

Conclusion

This chapter has revised the argument that Chilean academics have historically paid scant attention to racial and ethnic issues. Newspaper headlines on land disputes in southern Chile, the trial of Mapuche leaders for acts of terrorism and the polemics surrounding the recent truth commission leave us with little doubt that the “Mapuche question” is the subject of a highly contentious debate in Chile in the early 2000s. Evidence presented here, however, has demonstrated that while the decidedly politicised and widely publicised nature of the debate might be a relatively new phenomenon, the debate itself is not new.

Images of Chilean-ness and Mapuche-ness have been contested throughout the twentieth century. Palacios, for example, offered a very different version of national identity to that expounded by positivist-liberals in the nineteenth century and the conservative elitist *hispanista* narrative, which became increasingly prominent during the first decades of the twentieth century due to the influential writings of Encina and Eyzaguirre. However, while many people at the time applauded Palacios’ patriotism his work represented not so much a debate as a *dialogue des sourds*. Few people engaged with his ethnic version of *chilenidad*, taking other elements from his writings which best served their own purposes. Encina drew upon Palacios and made race central to his understanding of national identity, but he dismissed certain parts of this author’s arguments, appropriating only those that best supported his conservative view of history.

By the 1950s, the prominent position of Marxist historiography and the institutionalisation of anthropology had helped open up debates on indigenous peoples and national identity. This led to a more official engagement with the debate in the 1960s/ early 1970s, particularly during the government of Salvador Allende, although issues of race and ethnicity were often subsumed within the broader

context of class struggle. With the coup of 1973 terms such as class struggle and ethnic diversity were banished from official discourses and conservative Hispanic versions of the national narrative were reasserted with vengeance. However, debates continued within academic circles, especially among those Chileans who were exiled. Indeed, as Mallon has shown, the very fact that the military dictatorship was so repressive stimulated rather than hindered attempts to revise the historiographical debates on the meaning of Chilean-ness.¹⁸⁰

More recently, international circumstances (the proliferation of indigenous movements throughout Latin America, increasing pressure from human rights groups and the emergence of post-modernism and post-colonialism), as well as political developments within Chile (particularly re-democratisation after seventeen years of dictatorship) have brought new opportunities to contest dominant conceptions of nationhood. Texts such as the testimony of Pascual Coña, which had only a minimal readership in the 1930s, were republished in the 1990s and became best sellers. Hence, once marginalised or alternative histories became mainstream. Villalobos's work is an example of the reverse phenomenon.

Concluding with a chronological outline helps to reinforce the context of different histories' production and reception, but the previous point demonstrates how the reception of the same text changes over time. Narratives come into contact with others and are either pushed to the sidelines or held up as exemplary of a new school of thought, even if they were produced in a very different intellectual climate. This chapter also underscores the idea that different narratives can exist at the same time. Certain narratives have achieved hegemonic status, but they have always had to contend with – and were shaped by – counter-hegemonic histories. Eyzaguirre cannot be understood without analysing those whose school of thought he opposed, such as Lipschutz, and the latter did manage to gain access to official circles, at the expense of the right-wing version of national identity, albeit for a short period of time. It is also clear from the evidence presented here that historians and other

¹⁸⁰ Florencia Mallon, 'Decoding the Parchments...'

academics have the potential both to be co-opted by state discourses of nationhood, and to influence and change them. Thus historiography can be understood as a key sphere of contestation, which has allowed both Mapuche and non-Mapuche intellectuals to express their views. The latter have traditionally had more access to and greater status within this sphere but the balance between the two is being constantly reworked.

CHAPTER TWO

Remembering the Past through the Chilean Education System: A Space for Intercultural Dialogue?

Successive Chilean governments of various ideological hues have deemed the public education system to be one of the most effective instruments in their bid to develop sentiments of national solidarity and citizenship.¹ The practice of teaching students to express their admiration for Chilean national symbols and values dates back to the nineteenth century, indeed, to the period when these symbols and values were first invented. From as early as the 1840s (the Universidad de Chile was created to supervise public education in 1842) the state made a determined effort to expand education coverage, concerned that national progress depended on producing productive and loyal citizens.² However, it was only after 1920, when the Law for Compulsory Primary Education was passed, that the state in practice extended its educational reach much beyond the upper echelons of Chilean society. This law, together with the process of mass urbanisation, which started in the 1930s and made school attendance easier, meant that increasing numbers of Mapuche and other indigenous peoples were incorporated into the Chilean education system. Enacting similar assimilationist policies to other countries in the Americas, Chilean authorities were convinced that state schooling provided the ultimate solution to the “Indian problem”.³ In short, indigenous peoples’ *escolarización* was supposed to represent their *chilenización*.⁴

¹ Dirección General de Educación Primaria, *Programas de Educación Primaria* (Santiago: Imprenta Lagunas y Quevado Ltda., 1930), p.10; Dirección de Educación Primaria, *Planes y programas de estudio para la educación primaria* (Santiago: Gobierno de Chile, 1949), p. 244; Ministerio de Educación Pública, *Programas de Educación Secundaria* (Santiago: Imprenta Roma, 1964); Ministerio de Educación, ‘Sugerencias metodológicas generales’, *Revista de Educación* 12 (August 1969), p. 15; Ministerio de Educación, ‘Programa de Historia y Geografía. Educación General Básica’, *Revista de Educación* 79 (May 1980), p. 79; Ministerio de Educación, *Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios de la Educación Básica* (Santiago: Impresos Universitaria, 1999), p. 7.

² Amanda Labarca, *Historia de la enseñanza en Chile* (Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1939); Julio César Jobet, *Doctrina y praxis de los educadores representativos chilenos* (Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1970).

³ On the Mexican state’s educational policy and its incorporation of indigenous populations see Mary Kay Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants and Schools in Mexico, 1930-1940*

That the Chilean state has been relatively successful in providing education for its citizens – by 1970 it had achieved almost universal coverage in primary education; by 2000 over eighty-five percent of Chileans were also receiving secondary education – might suggest that it has also been successful in “nationalising” its indigenous populations.⁵ There are two problems with this argument, however. Firstly, despite their increasing incorporation into the Chilean education system, the population census of 1992 showed that Mapuche children were disproportionately represented among the small fraction of society that did not receive primary education, as they similarly were among the ten to fifteen percent who did not receive secondary education.⁶ (This was mainly due to the lack of access to schools if they lived in remote rural areas. It was also the case that Mapuche children often deserted school, either because they needed to contribute to their family’s income or because they felt education was irrelevant to their daily lives.) Secondly, when Mapuche children did attend school it did not always follow that the system was successful in its aim to “Chileanise” them. To presume it has achieved such goals is to understand the school only as an arena for articulating state domination. Yet, as shown by Mary Kay Vaughan’s study of education policy in Mexico, schools can also be understood as an arena for contesting state policies, as empowering institutions which allow marginalised sectors of society to negotiate with and make demands on the state.⁷ My work seeks to locate itself within this more nuanced approach toward state/civil society relations.

(Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997). On Bolivia see Aurolyn Luykx, *The Citizen Factory: Schooling and Cultural Production in Bolivia* (New York: SUNY Press, 1999).

⁴ Sergio González Miranda, ‘Nacionalismo y educación en los Andes de Tarapacá-Chile: Los aimaras de Isluga y Cariquima. El gran desarraigo’, *Revista de Educación* 215 (April 1994), pp. 29-30.

⁵ Francoise Delannoy, ‘Education Reforms in Chile, 1980-98: A Lesson in Pragmatism’, *World Bank Education Reform and Management Publication Series* 1: 1 (June 2000), p. 1. While the Law for Compulsory Primary Education made a significant difference to education coverage, Chile’s achievement of universal coverage at primary level was mainly due to the reforms introduced by the Christian Democrats in the 1960s. According to Collier and Sater, Frei’s administration made substantial inroads into previously neglected sectors, increasing investment from one seventh to one fifth of total public expenditure which (amongst other things) allowed three thousand new schools to be built. See *A History of Chile, 1808-1994* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 312.

⁶ Jill Pinkney Pastrana, Guillermo Williamson and Patricia Gómez, ‘Learning from Mapuche Communities: Intercultural Education and Participation in the Ninth Region of Chile’, *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies* 2: 2 (September 2004).

Such an approach lends itself as much to the past, when Mapuche communities were first incorporated into the state education system, as it does to the present. According to José Bengoa, following the Chilean state's occupation of Araucanía in the 1880s many Mapuche leaders were obliged to send one of their sons away to school in Concepción or Chillán as proof of their peaceful intent.⁸ State schooling, however, was not always forcibly imposed on the Mapuche. In fact, since the early twentieth century increased access to education has been one of the major demands of Mapuche organisations.⁹ A number of those children sent away to school in the late nineteenth century went on to participate in the state education system as teachers. It was also this generation of state-educated Mapuche that were responsible for establishing the first Mapuche political organisations.¹⁰ Thus emerged the tension between submitting to the Chilean system on the one hand and appropriating the tools it offered to fight for an alternative on the other. From the 1930s onwards, political leaders demanded not only increased access to education but also changes to this education in order for it to better serve Mapuche needs.¹¹

Secondary literature on the education system's treatment of Mapuche people – either as individual students or as a culture represented in its teachings – have tended to focus on the racist ideology underpinning this system, and in doing so subscribes to the idea of schools as all-controlling and corrupting.¹² Undoubtedly, there are many

⁷ Vaughan, *Cultural Politics*, p. 24.

⁸ José Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo mapuche* (Santiago: Ediciones Sur, 1985), p. 386. The author did not describe how the Mapuche leaders were obliged to give up one of their sons, but I imagine their lives would have been made very difficult if they refused to comply. Later in the same book Bengoa referred to “troublesome” Mapuche people being fire-branded (i. e. like livestock), so the authorities would know who they were.

⁹ Pablo Marimán, ‘Demanda por educación en el movimiento mapuche’, in Andrés Bello M., Angélica Wilson A., Sergio González M. and Pablo Marimán Q., *Pueblos indígenas: Educación y desarrollo* (Santiago: CEDEM, 1997). Both the integrationist and more radical tenets in the Mapuche political movement of the early twentieth century pressed for greater access to education facilities. In 1919 the *Federación Araucana*, which constantly promoted the cultural autonomy of Mapuche society, requested that the state decree the punishment of any Mapuche parents who did not send their children to school.

¹⁰ See my discussion of Foerster's work in Chapter One.

¹¹ Pablo Marimán, ‘Demanda por educación...’, p. 162.

¹² Imelcan Marhiqueu, ‘An Outlawed Society’, *Aukiñ* 14 (January-June 1988), pp. 27-29; Sergio San Martín, *Importancia de la Cultura Mapuche. Lo que la historia calla* (Santiago: Ediciones LOM, 1997), pp. 229-237; Francisco Cisterna Cabrera, ‘Currículum oculto e ideología en la enseñanza de historia’, *Revista de Ciencias de la Educación* 180 (October-December 1999); Judith Reyes,

examples of ethnocentric school texts and teaching methodologies that depict the Mapuche and other indigenous peoples as culturally backward and inferior, excluding them from a supposedly white, western and Catholic Chile. Other evidence suggests, however, that the government did not succeed in producing a uniform national narrative. Indeed, twentieth-century educational material in Chile, the dissemination of which was the responsibility of Mapuche as well as non-Mapuche teachers,¹³ provided not one but instead multiple and conflicting images of Mapuche history and culture. Sweeping generalisations, while often arguing a fundamentally valid point (e. g., that Mapuche history was manipulated or distorted in order to promote a less conflictive national history), have caused the complexities of different governments' educational policy towards the Mapuche to go unnoticed. They also fail to acknowledge the important changes that have taken place since the 1960s.

Seeking to modify such interpretations, this chapter investigates two different areas of educational reform in Chile. Firstly, it concentrates on changes made to the teaching of History as a result of curricular reforms enacted by Frei Montalva in 1965, Pinochet in 1980 and the Concertación in 1996. (The Popular Unity government is not included in this section because from early on in its tenure political chaos impeded the implementation of any planned syllabus changes.¹⁴) Official *programas de estudio* provide for a detailed analysis of how teachers have been encouraged or instructed to teach these subjects; school textbooks help the

'Algunas condiciones de posibilidad del diálogo intercultural y perspectivas desde la historia educativa chilena', *Revista de la Academia* 7 (Spring 2002), pp. 135-144; 'The Right of Indigenous Children: Ongoing Challenges', a paper submitted by World Vision to the UNESCO Committee on the Rights of a Child, Day of General Discussion (19th September 2003).

¹³ There are no official statistics, either national or regional, to tell us what proportion of teachers were Mapuche at different times. We do know, however, that many Mapuche political leaders from the 1910s and 1920s, such as Neculman and Mankelef, started off as teachers and that, by the 1940s, there existed an 'Organización de Maestros Araucanos' which sought to defend the cultural and economic rights of Mapuche teachers. (On the *Primer Congreso Pedagógico de Maestros Araucanos* (1946), see Foerster and Montecino, *Organizaciones, líderes y contiendas mapuches*, p. 264.) It is also the case that a large number of Mapuche intellectuals and writers being published in the 1990s/2000s earn their living as schoolteachers or university lecturers. Prominent examples include Elicura Chihuailaf, José Quidel, Pablo Mariman, José Ancán and Rosamel Millaman.

historian to reconstruct how such guidelines might have been put into practice in the classroom. That over ninety percent of Chilean students now use the state-authorised texts gives an indication of their impact.¹⁵ It is more problematic to ascertain the readership of school textbooks between the 1960s-1990s, although several secondary sources tell us who wrote most of them.¹⁶ There has already been a substantial amount of work done on these texts and the vision of national history portrayed therein, so they will be referred to only to illustrate key changes made to the curriculum or, indeed, to highlight certain continuities.¹⁷ The curriculum itself, however, has not received much attention from scholars. The first part of this chapter seeks to fill the gap.

Spotlighting certain themes such as Pre-Columbian Chile, the Spanish conquest, the occupation campaigns (1862-1883), Latin American integration and discourses of *mestizaje*, I examine the impact of the three educational reform programmes, asking how far they implied an official reimagining of Chilean and Mapuche identities. The detail of the nationally standardised school curriculum tells us a great deal: mainly, that the history and culture of indigenous peoples have never been completely excluded, as is so often claimed. Their presence may have been limited, but even the most repressive of regimes allowed some space for the “Mapuche question” to be debated. Secondly, while there were definite and contrasting patterns of change implemented by the Christian Democrats, the military regime and the Concertación, there were also overlaps between them. More importantly, there were several

¹⁴ Most work on educational policy under Allende has focused on the ENU (*Escuela Nacional Unificada*): one of the Popular Unity’s most controversial reform programmes, which caused much resentment among various sectors of society and ultimately contributed to the government’s downfall.

¹⁵ Barbara Eyzaguirre and Loreto Fontaine, *El futuro en riesgo: nuestros textos escolares* (Santiago: Centro de Estudios Públicos, 1997).

¹⁶ See, for example, Rafael Sagredo and Sol Serrano, ‘Un espejo cambiante: la visión de la historia de Chile en los textos escolares’, in Josefina Zoraida and Pilar Gonzalbo (eds.), *Enseñanza de la historia* (Santiago: INTERAMER, 1994), pp. 127-151.

¹⁷ Sagredo and Serrano, ‘Un espejo cambiante...’; Alejandra Arencible Arayo et al., *La historia que se hace, la historia que se enseña, la historia que se aprende. Diagnóstico y Perspectiva de los Textos Escolares de Enseñanza Media en Chile* (Tesis de Licenciatura, Universidad Católica Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez, Santiago, 2000); Barbara Eyzaguirre and Loreto Fontaine, *El futuro en riesgo*; Jorge Ochoa, *La sociedad vista desde los textos escolares*, (Santiago: CIDE, 1983); Pablo Mariman and Jaime Flores, *El Pueblo Mapuche en la enseñanza de la historia* (Temuco: Universidad de la Frontera, unpublished manuscript, 2001).

examples of inconsistency and incoherence *within* the pedagogical discourses of each government. In this respect, it is difficult to generalise about how education under Frei, Pinochet or the Concertación represented Mapuche culture, making it highly problematical to make statements about twentieth-century teaching practices as a whole. Moreover, it is precisely these contradictions and inconsistencies that provided a space in which Chilean and Mapuche identities could be contested.

The second part of the chapter focuses on intercultural education projects undertaken by Chilean governments between the 1960s and 1990s, drawing on ministerial documents, parliamentary reports, officially authorised teaching material and commentaries from the *Revista de Educación*. Despite widespread belief to the contrary, such projects have not been exclusive to the post-dictatorship period; intercultural and bilingual teaching schemes were debated as early as the 1950s, and were incorporated into the education policies of both the Popular Unity government and the military regime.¹⁸ That such projects were undertaken by Pinochet's administration is particularly unexpected considering its frequent claim that in Chile there were no Indians, only Chileans.¹⁹ The current reforms, then, have not emerged from a vacuum but, rather, are built on previous experiences of intercultural education and longstanding debates on the subject. Having said this, there are certain key differences between the projects pursued by the Allende, Pinochet and Concertación governments, and the discourses from which they emerged. Looking at the historical trajectory of intercultural reforms and the participation of indigenous intellectuals and communities in such reforms, this chapter explores the extent to which schools can be perceived as a space for intercultural dialogue. Some government officials have even sought to portray the education system as the new champion of indigenous peoples' rights. I would not want to go as far as this: racism remains a problem and many Mapuche still feel that state teaching practices discriminate against their people. Instead, the evidence leads me to question both the

¹⁸ In this section it is Frei's government which is missed out, because I have found no evidence to suggest that it proposed any intercultural education programmes.

overly optimistic accounts of schooling in Chile and the critical accusations against it, noting how schools have mediated discussions between Mapuche communities and the state, but also analysing the problems and limits of the successive reforms.

This chapter's point of departure is the 1960s primarily because this decade marked a watershed in twentieth-century history of education. For the first time, the Chilean state (under Frei Montalva) really engaged with popular education debates. It was no longer solely concerned with the expansion of education coverage, but also the content and quality of education: teaching methods were revised, teacher training was made a priority and thousands of new books were supplied to schools.²⁰ There was also a more practical reason for limiting my investigation of teaching material to the 1960s-1990s. During this period there have been three distinct programmes of curricular reform and intercultural initiatives which allow for a manageable timeframe of historical analysis and primary sources that are still easily accessible in the Biblioteca Nacional and the Archivo del Ministerio de Educación. Evidence on teaching material and curricular guidelines from the early- to mid-twentieth century is more fragmentary, although my work does draw on it occasionally in order to compare the curriculum of the late 1960s to preceding teaching practice.²¹

Re-naming syllabuses and contextualising changes

The teaching programmes analysed in this chapter have been re-named on several different occasions throughout the twentieth century. In 1964 secondary level students were taught 'History and Geography'. By 1968 these had become part of a larger subject called 'Historical and Social Sciences': a clear indication that the

¹⁹ Talking about the division of Mapuche communal lands, the regime's Minister of Agriculture, Alfonso Marquez, stated that the law implied "a new focus: in Chile there are no indigenous people, they are all Chileans." Quoted in *El Diario Austral* (23rd August 1978), p. 3.

²⁰ Collier and Sater, *A History of Chile*, p. 313; E. Schiefelbien and P. Schiefelbein, 'Evolución de la repetición, deserción y calidad de la educación en Chile, 1960-1997' (Santiago: CIDE, 1998), p.7; Robert Austin, *The State, Literacy and Public Education in Chile, 1964-1990* (New York: Lexington Books, 2003), p. 49.

²¹ Patrick Barr-Melej's work on Chilean nationalism included a detailed account of school texts from the 1910s-1940s, although he did not refer to History specifically or to the representation of indigenous peoples. See *Reforming Chile: Cultural Politics, Nationalism and the Rise of the Middle Classes* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

government recognised the need to study society from an anthropological, archaeological, economic, political and sociological as well as historical perspective. Already apparent in university teaching, the rise of the social sciences was thus reinforced by schools. Teaching programmes under Pinochet reverted back to 'History and Geography', probably because subjects such as anthropology and sociology were associated with the more left-wing or subversive sectors of society. In the 1990s a wider perception of history was again the order of the day: at secondary level pupils studied 'History and Social Sciences' and at primary level 'Understanding Society'. Such changes – as was the case in the late 1960s – caused much controversy among the more conservative historians in Chile.²² The curriculum's changing representations of the Mapuche need to be understood within the context of this wider academic debate.

They must also be understood within the framework of governments' divergent discourses on politics and society. The main priorities of Frei Montalva's Christian Democrat government were social integration and economic development. In conjunction with such objectives, it sought to democratise education through the construction of thousands of schools (particularly in rural areas), the introduction of new teaching methods and the increased provision of innovative textbooks. Aiming to stimulate an "open dialogue between all sectors that conform our nationality", curricular changes constituted an important part of the reform process.²³ Dialogue was not a term that appeared in Pinochet's educational discourse. Indeed, it seems that children were not even encouraged to think let alone debate different ideas.²⁴ As Pinochet himself recounted in an interview with *El Mercurio*, he directly intervened in the curricular reform process, changing the content of the teaching programmes so

²² María de los Ángeles Covarrubias, 'Nuevo Currículo para Historia y Ciencias Sociales: Hacia dónde va la enseñanza de historia?' *El Mercurio* (17th August 1997), pp. E 6-7; Gonzalo Vial Correa, 'Programas de enseñanza de la historia, *la Segunda* (5th August 1997), p. 9; Isabel Cruz de Amenábar, 'Historia y Educación Media', *El Mercurio* (30th August 1997). For a critical response to Krebs (quoted in the first article), Vial and Cruz see Gabriel Salazar, 'De la enseñanza de la Historia en la época del post-fordismo: el debate chileno', *Alamedas* 3 (1997), pp. 11-19.

²³ 'Discurso de S. E. el Presidente de la República, Don Eduardo Frei Montalva', in Subsecretaría de la Educación, *Reforma Educacional* (Santiago: Gobierno de Chile, 1966), p. 8.

²⁴ For an account of the negative impact of seventeen years of authoritarian rule on educational practices see *Revista de Educación* 267 (1999), p. 45.

that it coincided with his own views of history.²⁵ According to Jorge Ochoa, Pinochet replaced any concepts or references that might prove too “conflictive” such as class, proletariat, underdevelopment, dependency, Communist Party and Socialist Party.²⁶ Rather than “dialogue between all sectors”, the regime clearly tried to impose a uniform narrative on society and eliminate internal dissent. Those that did not conform were (symbolically and physically) excluded from the nation.

On coming to power in 1990 the Concertación used education to distance itself from the military regime, promoting a reform agenda based on “equity, quality and participation.”²⁷ Investment was substantially increased²⁸ and greater autonomy was given to schools – for the first time in Chilean history they were able to define their own *programas de estudio*, although still within the parameters set out by the Ministry of Education.²⁹ Additionally, local communities were invited to participate in school meetings, to discuss funding, teaching practices and so forth. As part of the Concertación’s discourse of inclusion and plurality, the school was promoted as an arena in which everyone could narrate their own identities.

Europe and Latin America in the history curriculum

From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, Chilean governments claimed their country to be the “first among South American nations”, the continent’s “model

²⁵ Pilar Vergara, ‘Entrevista al Presidente Pinochet’, *El Mercurio* (1st June 1980), p. D1.

²⁶ Jorge Ochoa, *La sociedad vista desde los textos escolares* (Santiago: CIDE, 1983), pp. 102-103.

²⁷ For an analysis of key reform programmes such as ‘Programa 900’ and ‘MECE-Básica’ see Cristián Cox and Pablo González, ‘Políticas de mejoramiento de la calidad y equidad de la educación escolar en la década de los años 90’, in Ministerio de Educación, *160 años de educación pública: historia del Ministerio de Educación* (Santiago: Gobierno de Chile, 1997), pp. 101-149, and Alan Angell, ‘The Politics of Education Reform in Chile: The *Programa 900 Escuelas* and the *MECE-Básica*’, in Louise Haagh and Camilla T. Helgo, *Social Policy Reform and Market Governance in Latin America* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 147-164.

²⁸ Aylwin increased state spending on education to 3.2% of GDP in 1993; overall it rose by 54% in real terms compared with the previous government. See Alan Angell, Pamela Lowden and Rosemary Thorp, *Decentralising Development: The Political Economy of Institutional Change in Colombia and Chile* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 167.

²⁹ By 2002, 1582 out of approximately 11,000 schools had been authorised to use their own teaching programmes. Interview, Cristián Cox, Department of Curricular Reform, Santiago, 4th December 2002.

republic”, the “England of South America”.³⁰ Such imagery was central to the myth of Chile’s ethnic and political “exceptionalism” that continued throughout much of the twentieth century. Ideas of Chilean superiority were directly linked to its (self-promoted) reputation as one of the “most European” – and by consequence “least Indian” – countries of the continent. This section explores the extent to which the public education system has been responsible for the persistence of Chile’s image as more closely linked to Europe than Latin America. It also asks how changes to such imagery have affected the place of the Mapuche in national imaginings.

The 1964 teaching programmes provide a telling example of the state’s determination to focus on Chile’s European heritage. The first year of the History syllabus was dedicated entirely to Ancient Rome and Greece.³¹ The second year was spent looking at Medieval and Modern Europe, setting the scene for the so-called “discovery” of the New World and the colonial history of the Americas. Third year pupils studied Latin American independence and nineteenth-century Chilean governments, locating the cause for this rupture in European historical developments (e. g., the French Revolution). In the fourth year students revisited Rome and Greece, and in the fifth year did likewise for the Middle Ages and Renaissance in Europe, again before introducing the history of the Americas. It was not until the sixth year that national history was studied in detail. Europe was thus seen as the starting point from which to understand the history of Chile and Latin America.

The European focus of history teaching was also apparent in the bibliography recommended to teachers. This included seven texts on general Latin American history, seven texts on the indigenous civilisations of America (none of which concentrated on Chile), eight texts on the colonial period, nine on republican and contemporary Latin America, and only three texts specifically on national history, despite the extensive historiography available. In contrast, for Universal History –

³⁰ Simon Collier, *Chile: The Making of a Republic, 1830-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 145-166.

³¹ Dirección de Educación Secundaria, *Programas de estudios de Historia y Geografía* (Santiago: Gobierno de Chile, 1964).

understood fundamentally as western European history – teachers were given a list of ninety-seven books, nineteen of which focused specifically on Rome and Greece. The latter on its own was over six times the number of books recommended on Chilean history.³²

The education reforms enacted by the Christian Democrat government (1965) and the new teaching programmes produced as a result (1968-69) marked an important point of departure from such a Europe-biased history. Indeed, the situation was almost reversed, for one of the key topics of study in the new ‘Historical and Social Sciences’ syllabus was precisely Latin American integration.³³ According to guidelines laid out in the *Revista de Educación* (1969), “Students [needed] a strong consciousness of the planet around them and, especially, the American world.”³⁴ The government hoped that by “giving a preferential place to national and Latin American reality, without ignoring their vital connection to the historical legacies of Asia, Africa and Europe, the subject [would] be of more interest to young people.”³⁵ This quotation also highlights the innovative inclusion of Asia and Africa in ‘Universal History’.

The list of topics for the first two years of secondary level teaching (the second two years were dedicated to vocational courses) reiterates the Christian Democrats’ efforts to move away from Europe. First year students were supposed to cover ‘The Land’, ‘Nature and Man in Latin America’, ‘Ancient Cultures of America’, ‘European Culture’s Penetration of America’, ‘Colonial Society’ and ‘Integration: A Contemporary Challenge’. In year two the syllabus included ‘Independence’, ‘National Organisation in Chile and Latin America’, ‘Chile since the mid-Nineteenth Century’, ‘The Human Profile of Contemporary Latin America’ and ‘The Region as

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 70-75.

³³ Manuel Barrera, ‘Relaciones entre la educación y la integración de América Latina’, *Revista de Educación* 8 (July 1968), p. 41.

³⁴ ‘El programa de Ciencias Históricas y Sociales: Comentarios y sugerencias’, *Revista de Educación* 18 (July 1969), p. 69.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

an Object of Knowledge and Action'.³⁶ The emphasis was clearly on Latin America as a starting point for understanding Chilean historical development. The choice of topics also indicated an official shift towards a broader, more thematic approach to history. Students were no longer supposed to memorise dates and facts; instead, they were encouraged to identify the long-term changes and processes affecting people's lives.

There were also significant changes made to history teaching at primary level. Ancient Rome and Greece were to be studied in the eighth year only and then it was limited to the first unit of the course. Western European history was not so much eliminated as used only to set the context of historical developments in Chile and Latin America. In year seven Latin American social integration was discussed in reference to international bodies such as the Organisation of American States. The economic focus was clear: Chile was studied as part of the continent's underdevelopment and, for the first time, renowned Marxist historians, such as Hernán Ramírez Necochea and Julio César Jobet, were included in the bibliography for teachers.³⁷ The syllabus also incorporated the views of dependency theorists.³⁸ Chile's Mapuche communities were brought into the 'Historical and Social Sciences' syllabus as an illustration of such underdevelopment and marginalisation.

When teaching guidelines delved into some of the more cultural dimensions of Latin American integration, such as folklore and common music traditions, indigenous peoples were not the priority. However, the new discourse – implicitly at least – opened up more space for their inclusion in official representations of *chilenidad*. Sixth-year (primary level) students were to learn about Chile's regions – a novel emphasis that suggested the government no longer found regionalism antithetical to

³⁶ 'Programa de Ciencias Sociales e Históricas. Enseñanza Media', *Revista de Educación* 5 (1968), pp. 57-58.

³⁷ 'Programa de Ciencias Sociales e Históricas. Enseñanza Media', *Revista de Educación* 14 (March 1969), pp. 78-80.

³⁸ As part of the unit on 'The Human Profile of Latin America', pupils studied the 'Problem of dependence and economic instability in Latin America', focusing on the problems created by export orientated growth and foreign investment. In addition, the bibliography included several studies

nation building. The Chilean nation was thus envisaged as an aggregate of regional components as well as part of a larger continental whole. Students were also encouraged to read Gabriela Mistral, Benjamín Subercaseaux, Mariano Latorre and Luis Durand.³⁹ The syllabus did not mention any particular works, but prompted teachers to focus on these writers' depictions of the natural landscape, the way in which their books "penetrated the psychology" of the inhabitants of Chile's different regions, showing how certain industries, such as mining, affected local identity. Such identifications linked Chileans to rather than separated them from their Latin American neighbours. *Americanismo* (the exaltation of local customs and the rejection of foreign – European or North American – cultural imports) and *criollismo* (the incorporation of Chile's "traditional" rural sectors into the national project) were important components of official efforts to democratise Chilean identity. It was also significant that the government was in the process of implementing agrarian reform programmes based on the experiences of other countries in the region. Looking outwards – to Latin America rather than Europe – was therefore key to internal openings. However, as will be shown in more detail below, the Christian Democrats' *americanismo* did not mean they completely rejected narratives of Chilean exceptionalism. Chile was part of the Americas, but it could still be a unique part.

In contrast, Sagredo and Serrano have claimed that history teaching under the military regime "left aside the concept of American integration promoted in the 1960s, returning to a localist and nationalist history, which presented Chile as an exception to the concert of Latin American nations."⁴⁰ The new teaching programmes did indeed distinguish Chile from other Latin American countries. Seventh year primary level students, for example, were taught that the *Guerra de Arauco* (between the Spanish and Mapuche) lasted throughout the colonial period and had a great impact on Chile, "differentiating its situation from that of other Latin

carried out by the Comisión Económica para América Latina (CEPAL) which reinforced *dependentista* ideas. See *Ibid.*, pp. 85-87.

³⁹ 'Programa de Ciencias Sociales', *Revista de Educación* 12 (November 1968), p. 113.

⁴⁰ Sagredo and Serrano, 'Un espejo cambiante...', p. 147.

American nations.”⁴¹ The teaching guidelines also stressed that more Spanish were sent to Chile than to the other colonies, that these were chosen for their talent as soldiers (rather than coming in search of gold), and that they had to learn to survive in conditions of austerity and constant vigilance. As a result, Chile developed a permanent professional army that was unique in Latin America.

Chile was also unique – according to the teaching programmes – in its legalistic tradition. Fourth year secondary level students were supposed to compare their country to the rest of Latin America and value its “organisational achievements”, mainly its establishment of “a legal order that guided the development of the nation.”⁴² Diego Portales in particular was highlighted as the polar opposite of the widespread continental tragedy that was *caudillismo*.⁴³ The *decadentista* narrative of national history, which exalted the Portalian period as Chile’s “golden age”, was thus reasserted with a vengeance. The Mapuche were not absent from the teaching programmes, but instead drawn upon to reinforce the distinction between Chile and the rest of the continent, although in a disparaging sense. The Mapuche were excluded from the “superior cultures” of pre-Columbian America, whose agriculture, political organisation and art were studied in detail at fifth year primary level.⁴⁴ In a separate unit focusing on Chile’s indigenous peoples, Mapuche culture was described as distinctly “primitive”.⁴⁵ The same syllabus thus seemed to narrate two conflicting histories: Chile was home to some of the continent’s most inferior indigenous cultures, yet was also depicted as the most civilised country in Latin America. Such tensions were resolved however, by the implicit assumption that Chile’s indigenous cultures had long since disappeared.

Despite distinguishing it from other countries, the military regime’s new syllabus did not entirely separate Chile from Latin America. The secondary level Geography

⁴¹ ‘Programa de Historia y Geografía. Educación Básica’, *Revista de Educación* 79 (May 1980), p. 94.

⁴² ‘Programa de Historia y Geografía de Chile. Educación Media’, *Revista de Educación* 94 (March 1982), p. 138.

⁴³ ‘Programa de Historia y Geografía. Educación Básica’, op. cit., p. 97.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

programme recommended that second year students “understand the need to learn about, interpret and value the Latin American community with the aim of identifying oneself as a citizen of this community.”⁴⁶ Students were also supposed to learn about the “problems affecting Latin American development.”⁴⁷ As the new programmes provided teachers with only very basic guidelines, it is difficult to ascertain the type of classroom activities that accompanied the study of Latin America.⁴⁸ Students could, for example, have been taught that Chile was far superior to its neighbouring countries. However, the fact remains that Chile was represented as part of a continental community. Undoubtedly, the terminology had changed: Latin America was defined mainly as a geographical (as opposed to cultural or political) community, a group of countries which shared common problems as regards natural resources and the unequal distribution of population. Terms such as social structure, proletariat, dependency and agrarian reform, which were prominent in the Christian Democrat’s syllabus, had been removed. However, many of the contents – population growth, urbanisation and economic development – remained the same. Moreover, while downplayed in the official curriculum and textbooks, Latin American integration was still an important topic of debate in the *Revista de Educación*.⁴⁹

That said, it is clear that Latin America’s relevance to Chilean development contrasted unfavourably with that of western Europe. At both primary and secondary level the study of Ancient, Medieval and Modern Europe was again made a priority. The first two years at secondary level were dedicated to ‘Universal History’, which was – as with the 1964 programmes – really western European history. Whereas the 1968 programmes used universal history to make sense of Chilean and Latin American history, the focus of the post-1980 curriculum shifted to Europe and students learnt how Chile became part of this universal history only once it was

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁴⁶ ‘Programa de Historia y Geografía Universal. Educación Media’, op. cit., p. 35.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ In contrast to the programmes of 1931, 1949, 1968 and the 1990s, no teaching activities were suggested.

“discovered” by Spain.⁵⁰ Clearly, the implication was that Chile had no history before it was “discovered”, that its pre-Columbian cultures were only passively affected by, rather than impacting upon, external processes. The curricular guidelines suggest that students read about the conquest from a purely Spanish perspective: they were supposed to “recognise the problems faced by the conquerors of Chile”, such as the “constant attacks by Indians.”⁵¹ They were also told to appreciate the positive (cultural, material, religious) aspects of Spanish colonial rule in Chile.⁵² Such *hispanista* versions of Chilean nationhood were reinforced in the textbook written by Francisco Frías Valenzuela, “the” authority on national history for schoolchildren during this period.⁵³ His *Manual de la historia de Chile* began not in Chile but in Spain, with a detailed account of Spanish politics and society in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Given the prominence of post-colonial debates in the 1990s, one might have expected the Concertación governments to promote an understanding of Chilean history “from” Latin America and to sideline the country’s European heritage. It is indeed true that the violence of the Spanish conquest (“a bellicose and conflictive process”)⁵⁴ was far more prominent in the new teaching programmes (1999) than it was under either Pinochet or Frei Montalva, although they avoided propagating the *leyenda negra* version of events. The bibliography for teachers included a wide variety of opposing historical perspectives on the conquest (e.g., Jaime Eyzaguirre, José Bengoa and Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt) suggesting that the official objective was to tread the “middle path”, neither excessively condemning nor exalting Spain’s colonial project. Sixth year students were still supposed to study the “difficulties and obstacles faced by Columbus and Magallanes”, and indigenous resistance was one of

⁴⁹ Iris Vittini, ‘Educación y integración latinoamericana’, *Revista de Educación* 68 (July-September 1978), pp. 47-49. See also *Revista de Educación* 58 (1976).

⁵⁰ ‘Programa de Historia y Geografía. Educación Básica’, op. cit., p. 89.

⁵¹ ‘Programa de Historia y Geografía. Educación Media’, op. cit., p. 133.

⁵² Official education magazines also promoted a Hispanicised version of Chilean national identity. See for example, ‘Convención cultural entre Chile y España’, *Revista de Educación* 52-54 (1975).

⁵³ Francisco Frías Valenzuela, *Manual de la Historia de Chile. Desde la Prehistoria hasta 1973* (Santiago: Zig-Zag, 1986). See Sagredo and Serrano, ‘Un espejo cambiante...’, p. 142.

⁵⁴ Ministerio de Educación, *Estudio y Comprensión de la Sociedad. Sexto Año Básico* (Santiago: Impresos Universitaria, 1999), p. 37.

these, but students were also encouraged to discuss the “attitude of the indigenous peoples to the arrival of the *conquistadores* in Chile.”⁵⁵ It is also true that the study of Rome and Greece was virtually eliminated from Universal History: building on the changes of the late 1960s, the Concertación tried to ensure that the content of the course reflected its title.

However, that there was less concern with Europe and more emphasis on pre-Columbian Chile – a point developed in more detail below – did not automatically imply greater space for Latin American history or continental integration. According to Chilean historian Julio Pinto, the reforms made little difference in this area: there was still too little on Latin America in the History programmes, particularly given that the subject had been an important part of teachers’ university training since the 1950s.⁵⁶ Hence what teachers learnt at university was not being incorporated into classroom versions of history. Pinto participated in the elaboration of the teaching guidelines in the late 1990s and remembers the objections of many colleagues to the inclusion of Latin American themes: “the myth of Chilean exceptionalism”, he lamented, “still has its staunch defenders in the [country’s] *gremio de historiadores*.”⁵⁷

Discourses of *mestizaje*

This section investigates how understandings of Chile as similar to or different from Latin America have affected state educational discourses on *mestizaje*. Despite *mestizaje* being the master narrative of nation building in twentieth-century Chile, teaching programmes during the first six decades did not elaborate on its meaning. Debating *mestizaje*’s relevance to Chilean history was another innovation of the Christian Democrat reforms. “As with most other countries in the New World”, the new programmes stated, “Chileans are the product of *mestizaje*.”⁵⁸ It was suggested that students “collect and interpret artistic representations of race and *mestizaje* in

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

⁵⁶ Julio Pinto, ‘La falacia de la excepcionalidad chilena’, *Rocinante* (2002), pp. 3-5.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

Hispanic America.”⁵⁹ Indigenous cultures were portrayed as active and influential participants in this process and, especially at secondary level, pre-Columbian America became an important topic of study.

Pre-Columbian cultures were not absent from the pre-1968 curricula: both the 1931 and the 1949 programmes included sections on their housing, religion, art and social organisation. Indeed, in 1931 indigenous culture permeated other subject areas as well as the humanities: in Mathematics children were supposed to learn “how Indians used to count” and in Physical Education and Music they practised traditional indigenous games and songs.⁶⁰ In 1949 the official guidelines underlined the inclusion of “aboriginal peoples” in Chilean nationality,⁶¹ exalting the Araucanians’ “defence of the land that belonged to them” and instructing teachers to promote an appreciation of Araucanian legends, poetry and music amongst their students.⁶² Nonetheless, Chile’s indigenous cultures and their place within the *mestizo* nation became far more pronounced in the programmes of 1968.

Secondary teachers were encouraged to focus on Araucanian, Inca and Aztec or Maya societies “due to their intrinsic importance [and] their influence in the forthcoming societies [of Latin America].”⁶³ Thus, Mapuche culture was included as one of America’s “great pre-Columbian civilisations”. The teaching programmes also stressed that European penetration of the Americas caused the coming together of two distinct cultures, not the imposition of one onto another.⁶⁴ That such clarification emerged in the context of students learning “to appreciate the genesis of

⁵⁸ ‘Programas de Ciencias Sociales. Enseñanza Básica’, *Revista de Educación* 12 (November 1968), p. 118.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Dirección General de Educación Primaria, *Programas de educación primaria* (Santiago: Imprenta Lagunas y Quevado Ltda, 1931), p. 36.

⁶¹ Dirección de Educación Primaria, *Planes y programas de estudio para la educación primaria* (Santiago: Gobierno de Chile, 1949), p. 247.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 260.

⁶³ ‘Programas de Ciencias Sociales e Históricas. Enseñanza Media’, *Revista de Educación* 5 (1968), p. 67.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

Chilean nationality” would suggest that official imaginings of *chilenidad* incorporated indigenous as well as Spanish culture.

Both the decision that students should analyse the historical process of *mestizaje* and the curriculum’s inclusion of a more detailed study of pre-Hispanic cultures were indicative of the growing influence of anthropology and archaeology in Chile during the 1960s.⁶⁵ When covering the topic ‘Ancient Cultures of Latin America’ teachers were advised to spend two hours explaining the work of anthropologists and archaeologists to their students.⁶⁶ As noted above, the title of the subject was no longer straight History but instead the ‘Historical and Social Sciences’: an official recognition that historians no longer monopolised debates on Chilean society and its development through time.

Mestizaje was also incorporated into the more contemporary subject ‘Integration: The Challenge of Today’ and it was here that the question of the role of indigenous peoples in Chilean nationality became more problematic. First year secondary level students were taught that one of the serious problems that “Latin American countries [had] to face, both in the present and the future” was the integration of indigenous peoples into national society.⁶⁷ Hence indigenous peoples were present but were deemed to be a problem, one that should have – but had not yet – been resolved through *mestizaje*. Teachers were told to discuss the “persistent legacy” of ethnic groups in Latin America and “their presence in the formation of national groups.”⁶⁸ The continent was divided into three groups of countries: those with a small indigenous population, where the problem was concrete but localised (Costa Rica); those with a majority indigenous population which was seen as culturally undeveloped and segregated (Peru and Guatemala); and those where the indigenous element was significant but deemed more developed and its integration more advanced (Mexico). Mexico was presented as the “model solution”: via *mestizaje*

⁶⁵ Garretón, M. A., *Las ciencias sociales en Chile. Situación, problemas y perspectivas* (Santiago: Editorial Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano, 1982).

⁶⁶ ‘Programas de Ciencias Sociales e Históricas. Enseñanza Media’, op. cit., p. 68.

⁶⁷ ‘Programas de Ciencias Sociales e Históricas’, op. cit., p. 75

different groups had been integrated into a modern and homogenised society.⁶⁹ Significantly, Chile was ignored within this analytical framework. The problem of “ethnic minorities” in contemporary Chile was not mentioned until the second year, in a unit focusing on rural-urban migration and agrarian reform, and then it was limited to the “frontier zone” around Temuco.⁷⁰ Chile was thereby located in the same group as Costa Rica above; the continued marginalisation of Mapuche people was a regional as opposed to “national” problem. Moreover, it was discussed in purely socio-economic (rather than cultural or political) terms.

Officially authorised textbooks reinforced these ambiguities regarding Chile’s link to Latin America’s “indigenous problem”. *Ciencias sociales, Segundo Año Medio* by Sergio Villalobos *et al.* was published in 1971, when the Christian Democrats were no longer in power, but it complied with the directives laid out in the teaching programmes of 1968.⁷¹ The text stressed that the “indigenous problem” did not affect Chile. It presented contemporary Chile in stark contrast to its neighbours, where disorganisation, instability, even anarchy were rife. One of the reasons for such disorder was these “other” Hispano-American countries’ “accumulated population of different ethnic origins and distinct cultural bases”.⁷² So, while the curriculum was emphatically pro-Latin American integration, as shown above, textbooks nevertheless held Chile up as an “exception” to the continent’s ethnic problems. The text also highlighted Mexico as a key example of continuing ethnic heterogeneity (it included a copy of a painting showing “Indians, *mestizos* and ladies all mixed up together in a Mexican market”), whereas the curriculum had exalted Mexico as the “model solution” to this problem.

The bibliography for secondary teachers provides a further insight into the inconsistencies of state educational discourse under the Christian Democrats. One

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁷¹ Sergio Villalobos, Patricio Méndez, Rolando Mellafe and Pedro Cunill, *Ciencias Sociales. Segundo Año Medio* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1971).

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 66.

name that stood out – among the many works on *mestizaje* – was Juan Comás, a renowned Mexican anthropologist and member of the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.⁷³ Comás repudiated “narrow minded nationalisms” that excluded indigenous peoples, rejected theories of racial inferiority/superiority, asserted the need to improve indigenous communities’ socio-economic situation and praised their contribution to national culture. The article recommended by the teaching programme made no reference to Chile. Other works by Comás had done, such as his *Ensayos sobre indigenismo*, although mainly to make the point that Chile had refused to become an official member of the *Instituto Indigenista Interamericano*.⁷⁴ So, works by key *indigenistas* were included on the bibliography although the Chilean experience, in this case, was not discussed.

The same bibliography also included a monograph by Argentine anthropologist Angel Rosenblat, which compared the *mestizo*, indigenous and black populations of different Latin American countries.⁷⁵ Chile, which featured prominently in the book, was described as 50 percent *mestizo* and 2.24 percent *indio*: an assertion based, Rosenblat said, on official population statistics.⁷⁶ However, he acknowledged the discrepancy between official and non-official statistics, quoting Donald Brand (a North American anthropologist) who argued that indigenous peoples represented nearer ten percent of the national total. Some people, Rosenblat said, even described Chile as “profoundly Indian”.⁷⁷ Perhaps his most important contribution though, was to highlight the flexibility and shifting nature of ethnic categorisation in Chile. Depending on what *mestizo* was taken to mean numbers varied between 50 percent (if those with one-eighth indigenous blood claimed to white), and 80 percent (if *mestizo* meant having any indigenous blood at all).⁷⁸ Ultimately, Rosenblat included Chile within the contemporary Latin American phenomenon of *mestizaje*, although

⁷³ The text recommended was ‘El mestizaje y su importancia social’, *Acta Americana* 2 (January-June 1944). See ‘Programas de Ciencias Sociales e Historicas. Enseñanza Media’, op. cit., p. 77.

⁷⁴ Juan Comás, *Ensayos sobre indigenismo* (Mexico: Ediciones Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, 1953).

⁷⁵ Angél Rosenblat, *La población indígena y el mestizaje en América* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Nova, 1954).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

he avoided drawing any conclusions as to whether this was a problem or something to be enthusiastically embraced.

That Rosenblat and Comás were included in the bibliography does not mean that their arguments were debated in the classroom nor that all teachers read their work, so it is difficult to establish their impact. Nonetheless the official endorsement of their interpretation of Latin American and Chilean reality marked an important change in the history curriculum. The fact remains however, that no Chilean academics were included in the bibliography, implying that it was only foreign scholars who discussed the problem of ethnic integration in Chile when this was clearly not the case. Particularly noticeable was the absence of Alejandro Lipschutz, who (as discussed in Chapter One) had produced several pieces of work on race and *mestizaje* in Latin America. Indeed, Rosenblat included Lipschutz as one of his main references on Chile.⁷⁹ Perhaps Lipschutz was denied a space in official education sources because he was too radical for the Christian Democrats. He was, after all, a well-known critic of the state's historical treatment of indigenous peoples; he also pressed for greater recognition of Mapuche cultural autonomy.

Not all texts on the bibliography for secondary teachers discussed *mestizaje* or *indigenismo*. In fact, many stood in open opposition to the *indigenista* narratives. Second year texts included Ignacio Domeyko, *La Araucanía y sus habitantes* (1845), Cornelio Saavedra, *Documentos relativos a la ocupación de Arauco* (1870) and Horacio Lara, *Crónica de la Araucanía* (1889), all of which portrayed the Mapuche as savages, opposed to progress and modernisation. Francisco Encina and Jaime Eyzaguirre retained a prominent place in the general bibliography as did Ricardo Krebs, who helped to design the curriculum. Hence, while anthropology and *indigenista* versions of history had been taken into account, conservative *decadentista* narratives were still present (a reminder that Catholic, *hispanista* and

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

corporatist ideals had influenced the emergence of the Christian Democrat party), as were texts exalting the liberal projects of the nineteenth century.

The discourse of *mestizaje* remained a central theme of the history syllabus under the military regime. It was explained as one of the consequences of the Spanish conquest: “the meeting of different peoples, from whose integration sprung forth our human and cultural reality.”⁸⁰ It was held up as an example of the “permanence of the aborigines’ contribution” to Chile’s development.⁸¹ Even Frías Valenzuela, whose widely disseminated textbook largely focused on Chile’s political and military history, acknowledged the role of *mestizaje* in Chile. However, the emphasis was very different to that of the late 1960s. “The mixing of Spanish and Indians formed the mass of the people”, Frías Valenzuela said, and from this mixture “emerged the *mestizo*, a medium build, shorter than the Spanish [...] but in all cases taller than the Indian. The skin is slightly darker than that of European races of dark hair.”⁸² *Mestizaje* was therefore interpreted in a biological (physical) sense, in contrast with the more socio-economic focus of the previous programmes. Moreover, Frías Valenzuela claimed that only the peasants and urban workers (the “mass of the people”) were *mestizo*, not the middle or upper classes. Consequently, *mestizaje* was not a phenomenon that affected *chilenidad* as a whole.

As illustrated above, the process of *mestizaje*, as taught under the military regime, allocated indigenous peoples a role in Chile’s past, but not its present. Christian Democrat programmes had effectively done the same, but the military government was far more explicit about it. Its conceptualisation of *mestizaje* was fixated on the homogenisation of society: through *mestizaje* indigenous peoples could be hispanicised and consequently erased as a different people. Officially authorised textbooks described the Mapuche and other indigenous cultures in the past tense only. In the teaching programmes Mapuche relevance to contemporary Chile was

⁸⁰ ‘Programa de Historia y Geografía. Educación Media’, *Revista de Educación* 94 (March 1982), p. 133.

⁸¹ ‘Programa de Historia y Geografía. Educación Básica’, *Revista de Educación* 79 (May 1980), p. 87.

reduced to folkloric leftovers (traditions, musical instruments) or a brief reference to the reservation system set up after the occupation campaigns. In the third year of the (secondary level) Geography syllabus Mapuche reservations were referred to as mere “vestiges of our indigenous past”.⁸³ It was surely not coincidental that the government was seeking to divide communal lands and consequently eliminate the legal category of indigenous community at the time. So, while the continuing existence of a distinctive Mapuche culture was identified as a localised problem by the Christian Democrats, teaching programmes during the 1980s claimed the Mapuche had no relevance to contemporary Chile at all. According to the military regime’s official discourse, the problem of ethnic integration had long since been resolved in Chile.⁸⁴

That the Mapuche were seen as irrelevant to Chile’s present, however, did not prevent the military exalting their glorious past. Indeed, Mapuche resistance against Spanish colonial rule was central to official imaginings of a Chilean *raza militar*. According to Jorge Ochoa, school texts under the military regime portrayed the Mapuche as “the first inhabitants of the geographic region that would be called Chile” and presented them “as strong warriors, whose bravery would be inherited by the future inhabitants of the country.”⁸⁵ Ochoa also remarked that the same texts promoting their heroic past refused to accept their cultural differences in the present.⁸⁶ It would have been difficult for school texts to make any reference to diversity when the curriculum made it clear that “divisions which separate groups within the nation damage the country as a whole.”⁸⁷ Herein lies one of the major differences between the official discourses of the military and the Christian Democrats. Whereas the latter’s teaching programmes envisaged Chile as a pluralist

⁸² Frías Valenzuela, *Manual de Historia*, p. 106.

⁸³ ‘Programa de Historia y Geografía. Educación Media’, op. cit., p. 136.

⁸⁴ Soon after taking power the military *junta* declared: “Despite its geographical diversity, our Fatherland constitutes one homogenous whole, historically, ethnically and culturally.” See Junta del Gobierno, *Declaración de principios del Gobierno de Chile* (Santiago: Editora Gabriela Mistral, 1974), p. 36.

⁸⁵ Ochoa, *La sociedad vista desde los textos escolares*, p. 79.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ ‘Programa de Historia y Geografía’. Educación Básica’, *Revista de Educación* 79 (May 1980), p. 100.

society (albeit in cultural and social, rather than ethnic, terms),⁸⁸ the former – for the main part – allowed no room for difference. Both governments sought national integration, but the military took a far more threatening stance against anyone who impeded such goals.

In contrast to the curriculum, which denied Mapuche culture any role in twentieth-century Chile, the *Revista de Educación* (the Ministry of Education's official magazine) published many articles on the subject. In fact, there were more articles dedicated to Mapuche culture between 1973 and 1989 than there were during the preceding thirty years and – more importantly – several portrayed the Mapuche as an autonomous culture, which was determined to survive in modern day Chile. In 1977 this government publication included a piece entitled 'Los Araucanos' by Eliana Durán, which largely described Mapuche culture in the past tense, but concluded by saying: "This indigenous population, rich in traditions and art crafts, has suffered a process of considerable transculturation. However, it still maintains much of its own culture. [...] We are talking about a group that is culturally different from the rest of the population, which causes a cultural conflict."⁸⁹ This was disseminated among teachers – the *Superintendencia de Educación* even deemed it suitable for use in the classroom – at a time when, according to most instances of official discourse, Chile was a united homogeneous nation. In 1982 the magazine included two articles on Mapuche history (one on their development of metallic weapons and another reviewing the play *Lautaro* by Aguirre), and in 1983 it published a piece on the 'Religious elements of Mapuche culture', one of the authors of which – Juan Huarapil – was Mapuche.⁹⁰ Huarapil asserted the continuing presence of Mapuche people in 1980s Chile and their cultural differences to mainstream society. Perhaps the most pertinent example, however, of the inconsistency of the military regime's educational discourse on *mestizaje* was an article from 1977, which discussed

⁸⁸ 'Programa de Ciencias Históricas y Sociales', *Revista de Educación* 5 (1968), p. 76.

⁸⁹ Eliana Duran Serrano, 'Los Araucanos', *Revista de Educación* 61 (May-June 1977), pp. 39-44.

⁹⁰ *Revista de Educación* 100, 97 (1982) and 109 (1983) respectively.

Mapuche people's perceptions of Chilean education.⁹¹ Why would the government be interested in Mapuche views on education if they were deemed to be the same as the rest of national society? Why distinguish their views from someone else's? That this article focused on Mapuche interviewees who firmly rejected assimilation into Chilean society would suggest that despite authoritarian rule the education system managed to provide a space – albeit a very small one – in which Mapuche and Chilean identities could be debated.

Seeking to distinguish itself from the military regime, the new Concertación government exalted the Mapuche as a central component of contemporary society, emphasising *mestizaje* as a concept that promoted rather than suppressed difference. The *Revista de Educación* denounced traditional pedagogical practices for attempting to “Chileanise” indigenous peoples,⁹² and the Ministry of Education acknowledged that the decontextualised nature of the curriculum (its failure to incorporate local indigenous communities' knowledge) was one of the main reasons why many indigenous children achieved poor academic results.⁹³ The government consequently aimed to compile programmes that were more relevant to their historical experience. Re-incarnated as “multiculturalism”, *mestizaje* – via the new teaching programmes – no longer implied the “whitening” or disappearance of indigenous peoples. Instead it focused on their continuing input into Chilean culture. Indeed, the new version of *mestizaje* almost went as far as to imply the “indigenisation” of Chile. In all these respects, it was a cultural discourse of *mestizaje* – distinctive from the racial or socio-economic versions promoted by the military regime and Christian Democrats respectively – which encapsulated the whole Chilean nation.

⁹¹ Sonia Sotomayor and Conrado Pérez, ‘Cómo percibe el mapuche al escuela?’, *Revista de Educación* 60 (March-April 1977), pp. 40-42.

⁹² González Miranda, ‘El gran desarraigo’, p. 32.

⁹³ See www.mineduc.cl

The new programme for ‘History and Social Sciences’ at secondary level (1999) included a unit on ‘The Construction of a *Mestizo* Identity’.⁹⁴ According to Cristián Cox, head of the Ministry of Education’s Curricular Reform Department, the ideas encompassed in this particular unit marked a fundamental change to the way in which Chilean nationality was represented through the curriculum.⁹⁵ To his mind, indigenous peoples “[had] become the very backbone of Chilean national identity”, at least according to official education discourse. A detailed review of the unit suggests that students were supposed to learn about the multiplicity of indigenous groups that inhabited the Americas before the arrival of the Spanish.⁹⁶ It stressed that the history of indigenous peoples did not stop with the arrival of the Spanish. It also encouraged students to think about the current difficulties faced by indigenous peoples as regards their integration into Latin American nation states. Instead of indigenous peoples being seen as a problem, it was state policy that was problematised. More importantly, the programmes required students to debate the very concept of *mestizaje* itself and question the extent to which it applied to Chile, evaluating Spanish and indigenous cultural influences. Throughout, the guidelines emphasised that there were no right or wrong answers. Nonetheless, that students were told to investigate specific examples of indigenous influences, such as food, popular religion, names of trees and plants, indicates that those who drew up the guidelines were at least thinking about the indigenous component of a *mestizo* national culture.⁹⁷

A new textbook for secondary level students by Liliana Almayeda *et al.* (1999) provides an illustrative example of the curricular changes introduced by the Concertación.⁹⁸ Indigenous peoples were continually referred to in the present tense, unless the text was discussing a specific period or event in the past. It included multiple Mapuche voices, such as those of José Aucán Huilcamán (leader of the

⁹⁴ Ministerio de Educación, *Historia y Ciencias Sociales. Segundo Año Medio* (Santiago: Impresos Universitaria, 1999), pp. 23-33.

⁹⁵ Interview, Cristián Cox, Department of Curricular Reform, Santiago, 11th December 2002.

⁹⁶ Ministerio de Educación, *Historia y Ciencias Sociales. Segundo Año Medio*, op. cit., p. 27

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 30.

Mapuche political organisation Consejo de Todas las Tierras) and José Ancán (a Mapuche art historian).⁹⁹ The book also suggested a debate about the ethnic problems in late twentieth-century Latin America: “Despite 500 years having passed since the [conquest]”, it said, “tensions still exist between indigenous populations and national states in much of Latin America.” It then instructed students to “investigate current problems of this type and where they are most acute. Analyse the specific case of Chile and propose possible ways to respect the ethnic and cultural diversity of our country.”¹⁰⁰ Rather than denying Chile had an “indigenous problem”, it made Chile central to the debate. More to the point, it was not the Mapuche or other indigenous peoples who were identified as the problem but rather Chile and the successive failings of its elites to come to terms with the country’s *mestizo* reality.

There were other ways in which the Concertación’s educational discourse challenged hitherto dominant interpretations of *mestizaje*. The new programmes noted that many indigenous peoples’ historic territories did not correspond to modern national frontiers.¹⁰¹ That they included the case of the Mapuche, who – from the eighteenth century onwards – controlled parts of both the modern day Argentine and Chilean states, indicates the willingness of the government to respond to Mapuche intellectuals’ criticisms. It was precisely this point – people’s ignorance about Mapuche history before the occupation campaigns of the 1880s – that caused much resentment among Mapuche intellectuals.¹⁰² The Mapuche were also cited as an example of indigenous peoples who maintain their cultural identity to this day, as opposed to those who were assimilated (in the Chilean central valley) and those that were exterminated (the Fueginos from southern Chile).¹⁰³ Hence, the programme reinforced the cultural autonomy of the Mapuche. By stressing that the Fueginos

⁹⁸ Liliam Almayeda, Pedro Milos and Pablo Whipple (eds.), *Historia y Ciencias Sociales* (Santiago: Mare-Nostrum, 1999).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26 and p. 35 respectively.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

¹⁰¹ Ministerio de Educación, *Historia y Ciencias Sociales, Segundo Año Medio*, op. cit., p. 27.

¹⁰² See Marimán and Flores, ‘El pueblo mapuche...’

¹⁰³ Ministerio de Educación, *Historia y Ciencias Sociales, Segundo Año Medio*, op. cit., p. 32.

were exterminated during the republican (rather than colonial) era, it also provided a space to talk about and criticise Chilean state policy towards its indigenous peoples.

The teaching programme for second year (secondary level) students also recommended that teachers discuss the term “ethnic minority” with their classes, asking how valid such terms are when referring to indigenous peoples.¹⁰⁴ It noted that many people believed “ethnic minorities” were not “civilised” enough to be allocated the status of nations, suggesting students and teachers should debate such ideas. It also observed how many “minorities” identified with the territory they occupied, thereby implying that they were only minorities (or non-nations) politically speaking, for while they did not have a state they nonetheless had a sense of belonging to a homeland. While not specifically focusing on the Mapuche, the curricular guidelines’ discussions of indigenous peoples’ right to be referred to as nations nonetheless (even if only implicitly) questioned the validity of the Chilean constitution which still described the country as unitary and homogeneous.

Even at primary level the new teaching programmes encouraged a more complex understanding of *mestizaje*. Having studied the conquest, sixth year students moved on to study the characteristic “traits of the colonial period”. One activity focused on the social pyramid in Chile, comprised of whites, *mestizos* and Indians, and asked children to think about “why the Spanish mixed with indigenous people”, “why the white man maintained a position of dominance”, “what differences there were between colonial and contemporary society”.¹⁰⁵ In this way students were prompted to bring *mestizaje* into the present, rather than seeing it as only relevant to colonial times, and to look at contemporary power relations in the context of race and ethnicity. However, instructions were rather vague and this is the only example of the history programmes’ attempts to link ethnicity and class. Socio-economic analyses had for the main part given way to cultural analyses, an indication of broader shifts in global academia. To understand *mestizaje* in its cultural dimensions

¹⁰⁴ Appendix 2, in *Ibid.*, p. 103.

¹⁰⁵ Ministerio de Educación, *Estudio y comprensión de la sociedad. Quinto Año Básico* (Santiago: Impresos Universitaria, 1999), p. 37.

is undoubtedly important, but it has meant that the socio-economic marginalisation of Mapuche communities is often ignored. To a certain extent, then, the new curriculum's focus on multiculturalism evades the political claims of (and therefore depoliticises) indigenous groups in contemporary Chile.

The Occupation of Araucanía (1860s-1880s)

The euphemistically named “pacification campaigns” have traditionally attracted little attention in official teaching programmes. Indeed, the Christian Democrat government's curriculum barely mentioned this episode of Mapuche and Chilean history, despite its attempts to democratise Chilean nationality through education. The reforms of 1980 made little if any difference in this area: as was the case under Frei Montalva, teaching programmes portrayed the campaigns as an inevitable part of the liberal state's “national” project, an important tenet of which was territorial consolidation and expansion. The violence of the campaigns – the fact that occupation was achieved through military invasion causing the death of many Mapuche and non-Mapuche people – was largely ignored. It appears that only secondary level students studied “the spontaneous and official occupation of Araucanía”.¹⁰⁶ “Spontaneous” referred to the colonisation of land by Chilean farmers and European (mainly German) immigrants. “Official” alluded to the supposedly unproblematic establishment of forts by the Chilean army in the region between 1860 and 1883. Significantly, the subject was introduced within the bigger picture of “peaceful resolutions to border conflicts”.¹⁰⁷

The focus on peace and stability was predictable given that most historians both in and of Chile endorsed such a narrative. What was perhaps more surprising about history teaching under the dictatorship was that it did not make more of the Chilean state's victory against the Mapuche. That a fervently nationalistic military regime played down the occupation campaigns (compared to Argentine school texts' persistent glorification of the *Conquista del desierto*), demonstrates that it was still

¹⁰⁶ ‘Programa de Historia y Geografía. Educación Media’, *Revista de Educación* 94 (March 1982), p. 138.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

held to be a vaguely shameful episode, or at least one not worth exalting at an official level. Certainly, it would have been difficult for a government that promoted Chile as a heroic warrior nation to venerate the killing of Caupolicán's and Lautaro's ancestors – these were, after all, the founding fathers of the Chilean military “race”.¹⁰⁸ The lack of engagement with this part of Mapuche/Chilean history was also indicative of the military's reluctance to dwell on any internal conflicts, apart from those instigated by (foreign) Marxists.

In the 1990s, for the first time, conflict was officially incorporated into Chile's historical memory – an indication that the Concertación governments not only accepted but also promoted *chilenidad* as heterogeneous. Influenced by post-modernist debates, education reformers in Chile have widely accepted the idea that knowledge is constructed and that there is no objective truth. As outlined by Sofía Correa, a Chilean historian directly involved in elaborating the new teaching programmes, History is no longer defined as ‘the’ official version of events but instead as only one interpretation of them.¹⁰⁹ For this reason, extracts in school textbooks are now accompanied by the author's name (showing that it is an individual interpretation of history) and a number of different historians' viewpoints are included for each topic.¹¹⁰ Such developments influenced the way in which the government decided to deal with the coup of 1973 and the ensuing dictatorship.¹¹¹

The changes outlined above have had an important impact on the official guidelines regarding how the occupation of Araucanía should be taught. The inclusion of José

¹⁰⁸ I. Tellez, *Una raza militar* (Santiago: Imprenta La Sud-América, 1944); Nicolás Palacios, *Raza chilena* (Santiago: Colchagua [1904] 1988); Alberto Cabero, *Chile y los chilenos* (Santiago: Editorial Lyceum, 1948); Ricardo Krebs, ‘Identidad Histórica Chilena’, *Lateinamerika Studien* 19 (1985); Frías Valenzuela, *Manual de la Historia de Chile*.

¹⁰⁹ Quoted in ‘Nuevo Currículo para Historia y Ciencias Sociales...’, op. cit.

¹¹⁰ A telling example of this is the officially authorised text for students at secondary level by Liliam Almayeda et al., op. cit. On Chilean independence it highlighted different historiographical viewpoints such as that of Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt (that it was a force of circumstance and improvisation), Collier and Sater (that it was a direct consequence of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe) and Sergio Villalobos (who saw it as part of a global process).

¹¹¹ On the controversies caused by the decision to bring recent political conflict into the classroom see Sergio Grez and Gabriel Salazar (eds.), *Manifiesto de los historiadores* (Santiago: Ediciones LOM, 1999).

Bengoa's text *Historia del pueblo mapuche* (1985) as key reading on the subject was highly significant because it illustrated the government's willingness to revise the dominant narratives of Mapuche history.¹¹² His landmark book described the campaigns as genocide, underscored the atrocities committed by the Chilean army and the suffering caused among the Mapuche, and detailed the different ways in which Mapuche communities and their leaders resisted the final military onslaught against their territorial autonomy. He also used many oral testimonies, which was almost unprecedented in Chilean histories of Mapuche society and noticeably absent from the work of distinguished scholar Sergio Villalobos (discussed in Chapter One). Villalobos is still included in the bibliography for teachers, so it is not that one interpretation is given priority over another, but rather that a variety of historical narratives are available for discussion.

Changes regarding the teaching of this particular episode in national history are most evident at secondary level. Students are meant to "learn about the incorporation of Araucanía into national territory and establish links between this [episode] and the present day situation."¹¹³ It is no longer portrayed as neatly dealt with or "successfully concluded" by nineteenth-century elites, but instead as an event that has important and problematic consequences for the Chilean nation. "By way of [both] oral and written testimonies" students are encouraged to "recuperate" Mapuche perspectives on events.¹¹⁴ They are also prompted to read widely around the subject, even to interview Mapuche political leaders. The *programas* do not explicitly underline the violence of the occupation campaigns, but they do provide an opportunity for students to discuss this aspect of the relationship between Mapuche communities and the Chilean state.

Promoting students' capacity "to empathise with the defeated, as well as the victors" was central to the new understandings of the conflict between Mapuche

¹¹² Ministerio de Educación, *Estudio y Comprensión de la Sociedad. Sexto Año Básico* (Santiago: Impresos Universitaria, 1999), p. 75.

¹¹³ Ministerio de Educación, *Historia y Ciencias Sociales. Segundo Año Medio* (Santiago: Impresos Universitaria, 1999), p. 47.

organisations and the Chilean state.¹¹⁵ Teachers should – according to the programmes – help their pupils get in contact with young people from the Ninth and Tenth Regions (traditional Mapuche territory), sharing information and thoughts about the history of the Mapuche and the problems they face in contemporary Chile. Mapuche students are encouraged to send their own testimonies to other non-Mapuche children via *Enlace* (the new educational computer network).¹¹⁶ The education system, while not imposing Mapuche versions of events on students, allows a space for these alternatives to be aired. In short, as a result of the curricular reforms of the late 1990s, school children can now debate the invasion of Araucanía and its consequences for present day Chilean/Mapuche relations. Incorporating this conflict (as well as other frontier wars) into meanings of *chilenidad* has meant that students can “discuss the strengths and weaknesses of our nationalism and the duality of identity versus chauvinism.”¹¹⁷ In this way the concept of Chilean nationalism itself is questioned, allowing both students and teachers to engage in a critical re-examination of the country’s past.

Despite these changes the Concertación government still faces much criticism from Mapuche intellectuals and political organisations. Indeed, as outlined in the introduction to this chapter, state schooling is often denounced as fundamentally racist. Such attacks on educational policy, however, do not so much focus on the discursive changes embodied in the curricular reforms (most would agree that these represent an important improvement),¹¹⁸ as the lack of implementation and hence superficiality of these changes. Debate is undoubtedly more open than it was before but still has its limits: the occupation campaigns can now be discussed, but sensitive present-day problems such as land conflicts in the south retain an aura of taboo. This was perhaps best demonstrated by the recent sacking of several Mapuche intercultural/bilingual teachers in the Ninth Region. Judging from local

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹¹⁸ Rosa Isolde Reuque Paillalef, *When a flower is reborn. The life and times of a Mapuche feminist* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002), pp. 94-95, pp. 316-317.

organisations' protests against the decision, it seems that the reason lay in the teachers' involvement "in the political processes in their communities", something of which the Teachers Association of Araucania thoroughly disapproved.¹¹⁹ Mapuche teachers – whose numbers are constantly increasing due, in part, to the new degree in 'Pedagogía Mapuche' offered by the Universidad Católica in Temuco and Villarica¹²⁰ – are a bonus for an official discourse of multiculturalism, but only as long as their political views coincide.

Many Mapuche still feel their people's history is reduced to an appendix to national history and new textbooks and programmes are perceived to make little difference if teachers are unwilling to assume new perspectives on Chile's ethnic diversity. Without government monitoring and obligatory training sessions, new methods cannot be imposed on teachers; even with these the Ministry of Education cannot be sure reforms are being implemented in the classroom. As observed by Robinson Lira, who works for the government's Curricular Reform Department, "There is a great difference between the curriculum one wants to teach and that which is taught."¹²¹ This problem becomes more apparent in regard to governments' intercultural and bilingual education projects.

Debating intercultural reform in schools

The debate on intercultural reform (the idea of different cultures meeting and communicating) is not new. By the 1950s several anthropological studies asserted the need for a more intercultural education system for Mapuche communities in Araucanía, or had at least outlined the limitations, problems or even irrelevance of traditional teaching practices for these people.¹²² The issue was discussed within

¹¹⁹ Hugo Painequeo Huenchucay, 'Political Persecution of Mapuche Teachers' (20th January 2005), published on www.mapuche_nation.org.

¹²⁰ As noted in the introduction to this chapter, I have yet to find any official statistics on the number of Mapuche people either working or training as teachers. However, it would seem that the course in 'Pedagogía Mapuche', introduced as part of the EIB scheme, has been very popular among local Mapuche students and the Concertación government frequently asserts the increasing participation of Mapuche people in educational reforms.

¹²¹ Interview, Robinson Lira, Department of Curricular Reform, Santiago, 11th December 2002.

¹²² Mischa Titiev, *Araucanian Culture in Transition* (Ann Harbor: University of Michigan Press, 1951); Inéz Hilger, *Araucanian Child Life and its Cultural Background* (Washington: Smithsonian

academic circles and raised at several political meetings, such as that organised by the Instituto Indigenista, the Universidad de Chile and the Corporación Araucana at Santiago's Biblioteca Nacional in 1959.¹²³ Indeed, as noted by Mapuche historian Pablo Marimán, many Mapuche had publicly denounced the negative aspects of Chilean education, demanding a more localised or specialised system for their communities, as early as the 1930s.¹²⁴

The Popular Unity government (1970-1973)

The first time intercultural education was officially promoted by the state, however, was during Salvador Allende's government. Albeit short-lived, this experiment with intercultural reform undermines the common assumption that Chilean political parties – both Left and Right – failed to develop a discourse on the problems of ethnic identity and the rights of ethnic groups before the 1990s.¹²⁵ Allende's government clearly did develop such a discourse, the main outcome of which was the new Indigenous Law of 1972. Staking some prestige on the issue, Popular Unity representatives claimed that theirs was the first government to consider indigenous peoples' needs. According to one congressman, there had previously been very little, if any, government debate as to how to resolve the indigenous problem, a problem that affected “ten percent of Chileans and, indirectly, our [whole] nationality”.¹²⁶

The dialogue between Allende and leftist Mapuche organisations – and their pledges of mutual support and co-operation – dated back to the Cautín Pact signed in

Institute, 1957); Mario Rubio Hodges, 'El indígena y la agricultura' and Gregorio Seguel, 'Educación del indígena' in *Seminario de Investigación sobre el Desarrollo de la Provincia de Cautín* (Temuco: Universidad de Chile, 1956).

¹²³ Alejandro Lipschutz, *Perfil de Indoamérica de Nuestro Tiempo: Antología 1937-1962* (Santiago: Andrés Bello, 1968), p. 111.

¹²⁴ See oral testimony of Domingo Motupil, cited in Marimán, 'Demanda por educación...', p. 141.

¹²⁵ e. g. Juan Carlos Gumucio Castellón, 'Ethnicity and the Development of Mapuche Society in Chile', in Jan-Ake Alvarsson (ed.), *Alternative Development in Latin America. Indigenous Strategies for Cultural Continuity in Societal Change*, Uppsala Research Reports in Cultural Anthropology 9 (1990), p. 51.

¹²⁶ Señor Alvarado, quoted in parliamentary records held in the Archivo del Congreso Nacional: Sesiones Ordinarias, Cámara de Diputados, Sesión 6a (14th June 1972), p. 322.

Temuco in 1964.¹²⁷ Once in power Allende made it clear he had not forgotten such promises: “The “indigenous” problem”, he proclaimed, was “a fundamental concern of the Popular Government, as it should be for all Chileans.”¹²⁸ As with the Christian Democrats, indigenous cultures remained a problem, although the fact that the word indigenous was quoted in inverted commas suggests that Allende recognised it as a problem for the whole country rather than one that was caused by or only affected indigenous peoples themselves. When discussing the subject Allende placed Chile firmly within the Latin American collective, assuming the continent’s shared pre-Columbian past. Quoting the Mexican archaeologist Alfonso Caso, he claimed that Chile’s similarity to other Latin American republics lay not only in their common colonial past, but also in “the ideas and institutions that existed among American populations [long] before the Conquest.”¹²⁹ Allende also made a point of denouncing the racial stereotypes that had legitimised the structures of domination over the Mapuche and other indigenous peoples in Chile.¹³⁰ Indeed, he went so far as to say that no one should be surprised by their “almost necessarily” violent reactions (he was probably referring to the land take-overs in southern Chile) considering the discrimination they had suffered.

Judging from Allende’s speech when he first presented the Indigenous Law (17.729) to congress, Popular Unity’s decision to adopt new legislation was not influenced by the *indigenista* policies of other Latin American states. He did not once mention contemporary developments in neighbouring countries, which is rather surprising given that the Chilean state itself had developed minimal discourse on indigenous peoples until now. Allende did, however, draw heavily on the work of Alejandro Lipschutz who, as noted in Chapter One, was completely *au fait* with the cultural and scientific issues being debated by Latin America’s *indigenistas* at the time.

¹²⁷ At the meeting on Cierro Nielol leaders of several leftist Mapuche organisations declared their support for Allende’s presidential candidacy and the latter promised, amongst other things, to respect Mapuche cultural values and religion, to improve their access to education and to seek the restitution of their communal lands. See Foerster and Montecino, *Organizaciones, líderes y contiendas mapuches*, pp. 305-313.

¹²⁸ Archivo del Congreso Nacional, Cámara de Diputados, Sesión 39a (19th May 1971), p. 2783.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

Parliamentary records show that the opinions of Mapuche communities and organisations were widely incorporated into the debates following Allende's opening speech, which was a significant point in itself, because it was often the case that politicians only talked about, not to, indigenous peoples. In this sense, the Popular Unity government was not simply acting on behalf of the Mapuche, but instead responding to and incorporating their demands into the new legislation. On 14th June 1972, for example, congressman Tejeda made specific reference to the Confederación Nacional Mapuche and the requests it had made regarding agrarian reform.¹³¹ In the same parliamentary session, when members were discussing the definition of "indigenous" (e.g., whether to include people who had left their rural communities), it was pointed out that the opinion of the *campesinos indígenas* was very divided on the matter. It was also agreed that the new law had to take this into account.¹³² Señor Alvarado, cited above (footnote 126), went as far as to argue that it should be the indigenous peasants themselves, not the state, that decided on the future of their communal lands.¹³³

The main part of Allende's parliamentary address and the discussions that followed over the next twelve months focused on indigenous rights to communal land. It was only in regard to the creation of the Instituto de Desarrollo Indígena (IDI), which replaced the Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas, that educational issues became more prominent. The main objective of the IDI was to "promote the social, educational and cultural development of indigenous peoples" taking into account their "idiosyncrasy and respecting their customs."¹³⁴ Essential to this project's viability and success, as Allende himself stressed, was its inclusion of indigenous political leaders.¹³⁵ Once the management of the institute was finally established it comprised

¹³⁰ Much of Allende's speech referred solely to the Mapuche on the basis that they constituted the largest indigenous group in Chile.

¹³¹ Archivo del Congreso Nacional, Cámara de Diputados, Sesión 6a (14th June 1972), p. 322.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 331.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 334.

¹³⁴ Archivo del Congreso Nacional, Cámara de Diputados, Sesión 39a (19th May 1971), p. 2790 and p. 2798 respectively.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.2788.

three representatives of Mapuche peasants, two representatives of northern indigenous peoples and one representative of the Consejo Nacional Campesino. Consequently, there were five (or potentially six) indigenous representatives out of a total of thirteen – an undoubtedly important presence in the reform process.

Mapuche organisations not only participated in the new state institutions created by the Indigenous Law of 1972 but were also directly involved in the drafting of this law.¹³⁶ According to Ana María Flores, the Confederación de Asociaciones Regionales Mapuches used the First Mapuche Congress, held in Ercilla in 1969, as an opportunity to compile a series of demands that would subsequently be presented to the government. By the time the Second Mapuche Congress took place in Temuco in December 1970, Mapuche organisations had prepared their own draft of a new indigenous law, which the Popular Unity government apparently supported.¹³⁷ Evidence found in the Archivo Regional de la Araucanía supports such claims, attesting to the fact that Mapuche organisations in Temuco made proposals to reform the Indigenous Law 14.111, and that these were taken into consideration in the drafting of the new law. As early as the mid-1960s, the Movimiento Indígena de Chile, the Sociedad Indígena “Galvarino” and the Grupo Universitario Indígena from the Colegio Regional in Temuco, wrote to Bernardo Leighton (vice-president to Frei-Montalva) with a list of claims relating to communal lands, agricultural credits, housing and education.¹³⁸ These included the creation of agricultural and technical schools in areas with large indigenous populations, more schools on the rural communities, free uniforms and meals for indigenous children, and student residences in cities such as Temuco.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Carlos Ruiz Rodríguez, ‘El pueblo mapuche y el gobierno de Salvador Allende y la Popular Unity’, Universidad de Santiago. Part of DICYT Project 03-0051 SM, Augusto Samaniego (ed.), *La cuestión mapuche: Chile, 1964-1973, Discursos y prácticas desde el estado y la sociedad civil hacia las minorías étnicas*.

¹³⁷ Ana María Flores, ‘Chile: La Unidad Popular 25 Años Despues’, *Nueva Epoca* 26 (May 1999).

¹³⁸ Archivo Regional de la Araucanía, Intendencia de Cautín, Oficios Recibidos Vol.218 (1965-1972).

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.7

The ‘Guidelines for Educational Development’ produced in 1972 demonstrate that many of the above demands were incorporated into the IDI’s agenda.¹⁴⁰ They promoted the “professional and technical education of indigenous peoples” and encouraged the development of indigenous communities’ arts and crafts. Urban residences were to be built for indigenous students and study centres created for adult learning programmes and agricultural/technical projects. The IDI also planned to provide the raw materials and equipment for these study centres. Additionally, Popular Unity promised to offer an increased number of university grants to indigenous students each year. According to Staffan Berglund, Allende’s government was very successful in this area: grants increased from 602 in 1969, to 1093 in 1970, 2782 in 1971 and 9297 in 1972.¹⁴¹ Berglund also highlighted the inclusion of Mapuche language and Mapuche art and music in the curriculum.¹⁴² “By this measure”, he said, the government “hoped to put to an end to the Mapuche’s reluctant rejection of their own culture”, brought about initially by other Chileans’ condescending attitude towards it. He continued “It was regarded as the only road to the emancipation of the Mapuche in the Chilean community. In particular, the project aimed at spreading bilingualism, which was just about to be started at the time of the coup.”¹⁴³

Given that that the IDI had a very short life span and that most of the reforms were never fully implemented, it is difficult to ascertain how “intercultural” the Popular Unity’s programme really was. Despite asserting the need for the Mapuche to maintain their traditions (their language, art, religious beliefs and so forth) emphasis

¹⁴⁰ Archivo del Congreso Nacional, Sesiones del Senado, Sesión 22a (March-May 1972): Vol. 315 (II), ‘Anexo de Documentos’.

¹⁴¹ Staffan Berglund, *The National Integration of the Mapuche, ethnic minority in Chile* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1977), p. 84.

¹⁴² I have yet to find any primary evidence to support this. However, Austin has confirmed that the Popular Unity “initiated a bilingual literacy process which would value and resuscitate Mapuche knowledge.” (See Austin, *The State, Literacy and Popular Education*, p. 169) He documented the creation of a ‘Program for the Mobilisation of the Mapuche People’ (1971), which involved many Mapuche themselves either as teachers or monitors of the bilingual education schemes. Indeed, according to Austin, the bilingual literacy program was well under way by September 1973. In addition, a study done at the Universidad de Chile claimed that the IDI insisted on the teaching of primary and secondary level Mapuche students being done in Mapuzungun (See <http://rehue.csociales.uchile.cl/antropologia/congreso/s2010.html>).

was clearly placed on the integration of Mapuche culture into national society. The new projects were designed for the Mapuche, rather than Chilean society as whole, offering specialised education for the Mapuche (in Mapuzungun), so they could function better in the local and national community, not an increased awareness of Mapuche culture, history and language among Chileans more generally. The main objective of the teaching reforms was to make efficient farmers or urban workers out of a previously economically and socially disadvantaged people. Congressman Alvarado made this clear when he stressed the need for indigenous peoples to be “educated, trained and transformed into useful citizens, so that they are no longer the worst paid workers in Chile when they arrive in the urban centres.”¹⁴⁴ Interestingly, Mapuche organisations themselves often appropriated the dominant discourses of integration, using them to secure benefits from the state. The aforementioned letter to Bernardo Leighton, for example, affirmed Mapuche people’s “inability to integrate of their own accord into a civilisation that every day [was] more difficult to reach” and demanded the government provide “the economic, educational and material means to [...] truly integrate ourselves into the great Chilean family.”¹⁴⁵ Despite its integrationist objectives, however, many contemporary Mapuche intellectuals have hailed Allende’s law as a “momentous step” in the historic relationship between the Mapuche and the Chilean state.¹⁴⁶

Intercultural education policies under the military regime (1973-90)

As demonstrated by numerous official documents and speeches, the military regime of Augusto Pinochet envisaged Chile as a unitary homogeneous nation, in which “Indians” no longer existed as a distinct people.¹⁴⁷ Such a refusal to acknowledge

¹⁴³ Berglund, *The National Integration*, p. 84.

¹⁴⁴ Cámara de Diputados (14th June 1972), op. cit., p. 326.

¹⁴⁵ Archivo Regional de la Araucanía, Intendencia de Cautín, Oficios Recibidos, Vol.218, op. cit.

¹⁴⁶ Raúl Rupailaf, ‘Las organizaciones mapuches y las políticas indigenistas del estado chileno (1970-2000)’, *Revista de la Academia* 7 (Spring 2002), p. 64; ‘El indigenismo de la Concertación y la ley 17.729: Una comparación’, *Liwen* 1 (December 1989), pp. 24-26; Ariel Antillanca, Clorinda Cuminao and César Loncón, *Escritos Mapuches, 1910-1999* (Santiago: Ediciones LOM, 1999), p. 35.

¹⁴⁷ In a speech to Mapuche *llongkos* in Cholchol (1989), Pinochet warned against any ideas of autonomy: “I think it is especially important that you, dignified representatives of the Mapuche race, do not allow your people to be separated from the rest of the national community. You are Chileans since before the Republic even existed!” See González, Juan I. and Rafael A. Lopez, *El pueblo mapuche: presente y futuro de una raza* (Santiago: Imprenta Instituto Geografico Militar, 1989), p.

any internal differences would surely presuppose a distinct lack of engagement with proposals for intercultural education schemes. Indeed, several scholars have claimed that the intercultural curricular reforms elaborated under Allende came to an abrupt end as soon as the military *junta* took power in 1973.¹⁴⁸ However, a closer inspection of official education documents from the period reveal that such proposals, which highlighted the cultural difference of Mapuche people and their consequent need for a specialised education, were not only debated but also incorporated into long term government projects. At least in regard to education, then, one is led to question the standard interpretation of military rule in Chile as unrelentingly and brutally repressive of Mapuche culture.¹⁴⁹

In 1976 Chilean archaeologist Consuelo Valdés Chadwick was asked to review a 'Plan for a Mapuche Education Scheme' devised by the Ministry of Education.¹⁵⁰ Two major points stand out here. Firstly, that the military government had produced an education project geared towards a specific sector of society, when all Chileans were supposed to be the same. Secondly, that it had asked for feedback and thus encouraged discussion of its proposal for Mapuche education, when the education system itself was supposed to instil obedience in pupils and fiercely discourage critical thinking and debate.

41. See also Junta del Gobierno, *República de Chile 1974, Primer año de Reconstrucción Nacional* (Santiago: Editora Nacional Gabriela Mistral, 1974).

¹⁴⁸ See, for example, Berglund, *The National Integration*, p.84; Rupailaf, 'Las organizaciones mapuches...', p. 73.

¹⁴⁹ Studies asserting the racist tendencies of the regime include: Vicente Mariqueo, 'The Mapuche Tragedy' (Copenhagen: IGWIA, 1979); Inter-Church Committee on Human Rights in Latin America, 'Mapuches, people of the land: Report of a fact-finding mission to Chile' (November 1979); Pau Pérez-Sales, *Muerte y desaparición forzada en la Araucanía: una aproximación étnica* (Santiago: Ediciones LOM, 1998); Raúl Rupailaf, 'Las organizaciones mapuches...'.
¹⁵⁰ Consuelo Valdés Chadwick, *Repuesta a una solicitud* (unpublished manuscript dated July 1976, found in the Archivo del Museo Regional de la Araucanía). I draw on this report instead of the military plans themselves because the latter were impossible to obtain. According to the web site of Chile's *Consejo Nacional de Televisión*, Valdés is an archaeologist by profession, with a Masters degree in anthropology (Valdés is now a member of its advisory board). During the 1980s she worked for the state entity *Consejo de Monumentos Nacionales*. According to Robert Austin, the dictatorship asked experts in Mapuche culture to assist in the design of Mapuche literacy programmes (see *The State, Literacy and Popular Literacy*, p. 253). Perhaps Valdés had done some work on Mapuche communities as part of her anthropological studies.

Valdés's report criticised many aspects of the government's proposal. The emphasis on formal teaching, she said, meant the project neglected important aspects of the informal education children received from their families and communities.¹⁵¹ Valdés denounced attempts to impose literacy training as futile when many rural Mapuche were in no condition to recognise its benefits – more pressing social and economic problems had to be dealt with first. Furthermore, when survival was based on agricultural production many people could not see the point in learning to read and write. Their immediate priority, according to Valdés, was to be out in the fields. The author thus stressed how imperative it was to create a sense among Mapuche people that education mattered. Additionally, Valdés asked why the project only referred to the Ninth Region, when there were many Mapuche in other regions, and rejected commonly held assumptions that Mapuche culture functioned as a homogenous whole. She recommended researchers speak to the Mapuche themselves in order to understand that different people wanted different things from the education system. This, she said, was particularly important regarding the introduction of Mapuzungun into the curriculum, which many Mapuche believed to be pointless.¹⁵²

The plans were discussed further in the *Revista de Educación* in 1978.¹⁵³ Judging from this article, the main focus was the Mapuche's integration into national society via economic development programmes, but it also underlined their cultural differences as a people and the need for education to take such diversity into account. Primary teachers were to be trained in the new *programas de estudio*, the objective of which was to “accentuate the permanent values of Mapuche culture and incorporate them into the national historic context.”¹⁵⁴ Bilingual education (Mapuzungun and Spanish) was officially endorsed to facilitate communication between the teachers and their students; the study of ‘Natural Sciences’ was supposed to incorporate ecological issues that were directly relevant to the children's

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p.19.

¹⁵³ ‘Readecuan programas educativos para Aymaras y Mapuches’, *Revista de Educación* 69 (1978), pp. 66-67.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

local surroundings. The reform programme, re-entitled *Programa de Educación Rural Mapuche*, was implemented the following year.

Five years later, the government published a book for rural teachers working in areas with a high proportion of Mapuche children.¹⁵⁵ The preface to this text could easily be mistaken for works produced in the early 2000s, when multiculturalism and ethnic diversity are high on the political agenda. It stressed the need to look at the issue from a number of different perspectives, assuming a culturally relativistic approach and acknowledging the limits of stereotypes previously assigned to the Mapuche. The book also claimed that there were approximately 400,000 Mapuche in Chile, which contradicted official statements relating to agrarian reform and instead concurred, rather surprisingly, with statistics expounded by scholars such as Alejandro Lipschutz. The immense majority of Mapuche children, it said, still spoke Mapuzungun at home and in the community. As a result, many of them had a limited knowledge of Spanish, which prohibited them from achieving good results at school and led to their stigmatisation in national society. The education plan concentrated on improving their Spanish in order to enhance their experience of school. It stressed, however, that “the objective of the material presented [was] not only to teach Spanish, but also [...] to improve the climate of our relationship with Mapuche students, making them feel that we value and respect their social experience.”¹⁵⁶

The title of the text referred to a bicultural rather than bilingual education programme, implying that language was only one aspect of the proposed changes. One of the education plan’s main aims, according to this text, was to promote the self-esteem of Mapuche students: to this end, it advised teachers to avoid homogenising and stereotyping their Mapuche pupils, to put up posters in the classroom depicting Mapuche activities and to celebrate individual achievements.¹⁵⁷ Mapuche children’s self-esteem, it said, had been damaged by textbooks, which

¹⁵⁵ Gastón Sepúlveda, Josefina Rodríguez and Norma Varas, *Programa de Educación Rural Mapuche. Apuesto para la educación bi-cultural* (Gobierno de Chile: Santiago, 1984).

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

constantly referred to them as “Indians” or did not mention their people or culture at all. Paradoxically, many of the school texts authorised by the Ministry of Education at the time (i.e., Francisco Frías Valenzuela, Gonzalo Vial and Sergio Villalobos) did precisely this, referring to the Mapuche as Indians and denigrating them as barbaric primitives.

The new programme encouraged Mapuche children to express themselves freely in class and to talk about their own culture. The teacher was instructed not to treat a child as less intelligent than others just because he/she did not understand a given text. They were also told to show an interest in Mapuzungun and to respect the cultural differences of the Mapuche students.¹⁵⁸ Linguistic and cultural abilities were to be developed via objects and methods that the children felt comfortable with and teachers were supposed to talk to the parents about their own aims for their children and try to incorporate these into the teaching. Finally, the guide stressed that a Mapuche child’s first day at school was not their first day of learning, that they had already been learning for five to six years on their community and with their family.¹⁵⁹ In many ways, then, the government had fully incorporated Valdés’s criticisms of the original education plan.

There were however, obvious limitations to the military government’s bicultural education programme. Firstly, it focused only on Mapuche who lived in rural communities at a time when more than half the Mapuche population lived in Chile’s urban centres. Secondly, it was limited to primary education, although this could be explained by the lack of secondary schools in rural areas. Finally, as was the case with Allende’s reforms, emphasis was placed on socio-economic improvement and Mapuche people’s integration into the nation-state. Mapuche children were to be taught in Mapuzungun only as a means to better understand the Spanish language and the way in which Chilean society worked. They were to be taught to value their own cultural traditions, in order to develop the confidence and self-esteem needed to

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

progress within the existing system. Chilean pupils generally, even in rural areas with a high proportion of Mapuche, were not taught about Mapuche culture and history. Nevertheless, the point remains that education under the military government did not always deny the existence of a culturally different people.

This is not to claim that all Mapuche fared well out of the system, indeed, it has been widely and passionately criticised by Mapuche intellectuals who were subjected to its way of teaching. Mapuche poet Leonel Lienlaf, for example, described how the education system made him feel alienated from national society, precisely because it tried to suppress his cultural heritage.¹⁶⁰ Reflecting on the situation in 1988, Imelcan Marhiqueu lamented how, from an early age, the Mapuche student felt “the effects of an education which is hostile to his roots and history. It tells him that he is inferior to the rest of his non-Mapuche classmates [...]. Thus, for many it causes psychological traumas and complexes.”¹⁶¹ “We are not asking for special treatment”, he said, “but simply fair treatment. Education for Mapuches must be in our own language.”¹⁶² Many academic studies have also denounced the “ethnocidal” characteristics of the education system under Pinochet. Raúl Rupailaf has emphasised its refusal to recognise any form of cultural or ethnic diversity, and Robert Austin has noted that many Mapuche in the 1980s “described their schooling on all levels as traumatic and humiliating”, stating that this was “aggravated by the system’s intolerance of Mapuzungun.”¹⁶³ This would all seem to indicate that the regime’s plans for bilingual and intercultural teaching programmes were seldom put into practice.

Without systematic interviewing of teachers who worked during the 1970s and 1980s, it is difficult to ascertain how far – if at all – the new programmes were implemented in the classroom. Despite the criticisms outlined above, though, evidence from official documents shows that education under Pinochet was not as

¹⁶⁰ Lienlaf quoted in *La Epoca* (2nd September 1990) and *El Metropolitano* (8th July 1999).

¹⁶¹ Marhiqueu, ‘An Outlawed Society’, p. 30.

¹⁶² *Ibid.* Translation from Spanish into English by Robert Lilley.

unthinking about the “Mapuche question” as is often assumed; the government was prepared to discuss the problems faced by Mapuche students, even if little was done on the ground to remedy them. Ultimately, it seems that there was less substantive difference than has been claimed between left and right wing policies in relation to intercultural projects: both prioritised socio-economic development and the Mapuche’s integration into national society. The remainder of this chapter will consider intercultural bilingual programmes under the Concertación. Ironically, some of the same criticisms outlined in reference to Pinochet’s government can also be levelled at the Concertación, although there have been substantial changes made to both the content and discourse of intercultural education.

Educación Intercultural Bilingüe since redemocratisation

The *Programa de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* (EIB) was not officially launched until March 1996, but certain elements were incorporated into teaching practice from the early 1990s onwards and it was underlined as one of the most important priorities of the new Indigenous Law in 1993.¹⁶⁴ In 1999 the *Revista de Educación* outlined the main tenets and achievements of the Concertación’s intercultural programme, describing it as an important departure from previous governments’ destructively assimilationist policies.¹⁶⁵ “Numerous academics and scholars”, it said, “who have studied the indigenous reality of our country agree that government education policies were characterised by their outward objective of cultural homogenization.”¹⁶⁶ The system was also criticised for having “reproduced western values and the Spanish language, relegating indigenous languages and customs to the family home and the reduced space of the communities.”¹⁶⁷ Any efforts made by Salvador Allende to change the system were apparently “cut short

¹⁶³ See Rupailaf, ‘Las organizaciones mapuches...’ p. 73, and Austin, *The State, Literacy and Popular Education*, p.253, respectively.

¹⁶⁴ In 1991, for example, a Mapuche writer Mario Cayún Melleneo published *Conociendonos más*, a book about Mapuche culture and history for young children. The government financed 2000 copies to be printed and distributed among rural schools and libraries in southern Chile as part of the *P900* project. See *El Diario Austral* (17th September 1991), p. 18.

¹⁶⁵ ‘Educación Intercultural Bilingüe: Pasaje al desarrollo de los pueblos indígenas’, *Revista de Educación* 266 (July 1999), pp. 31-37.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

by the military regime.”¹⁶⁸ The *Revista de Educación* thus reinforced the idea that Pinochet forbade bilingual education, continually repressing indigenous groups’ language, even their existence, in the name of national unity.

In his parliamentary address of 15th October 1991, Patricio Aylwin asserted that diverse sectors of Chile’s indigenous societies had actively participated in the drafting of the new indigenous legislation.¹⁶⁹ There were, he said, “hundreds of meetings in the communities, delegates were elected to 15 Provincial Congresses and finally a National Congress of Indigenous Peoples was held to discuss the main ideas of the draft law.” The president admitted that “not all indigenous people [had] participated in this process, undoubtedly, but almost 100,000 [had] done so directly or indirectly.” On the subject of education Aylwin claimed that his project incorporated “the indigenous peoples’ own aspirations” making sure “that the schools they attend teach in two languages, the traditional language and Spanish. The teaching programmes must also respect the culture, history and traditions of these peoples.” It was in their definition of the term ‘intercultural’ that the Concertación government’s policies differed most starkly from previous governments. In official discourse difference became something to be celebrated rather than a problem to be resolved (i.e. eliminated), and terms such as integration and unity were replaced with co-existence and diversity.¹⁷⁰ According to the *Revista de Educación*, the government envisaged intercultural education as “a conquest by the American peoples, a way of obtaining an education that begins in the indigenous communities, strengthening autochthonous culture, languages and identities.”¹⁷¹ The notion of education “beginning in the communities” is a particularly significant aspect of the Concertación governments’ discourse: education was not being imposed from outside, but developed by (or in conjunction with) indigenous peoples according to their own requirements and methodologies.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ Archivo del Congreso Nacional, Cámara de Diputados, Sesión 8a (15th October 1991), p. 503.

¹⁷⁰ ‘Valorando las diferencias busquemos la igualdad’, *Revista de Educación* 262 (1999), p. 7.

¹⁷¹ ‘Educación Intercultural Bilingüe: Pasaje al desarrollo...’, p. 37.

The different projects included within the EIB reform programme are too numerous to outline here, but it is worth mentioning some of the key features that distinguish the Concertación's agenda from that of the previous two governments. Firstly, it incorporates urban as well as rural communities.¹⁷² Pablo Mariman's study (1997) referenced two schools in Santiago that had introduced elements of Mapuche culture and language into their classes.¹⁷³ In 1999 the *Revista de Educación* praised new EIB pilot schemes that were underway in the Lo Prado and Pudahuel districts of Santiago, the result of a training programme offered by the Universidad de Humanismo Cristiano.¹⁷⁴ Since then numbers have steadily been increasing: according to Guillermo Williamson (National Co-ordinator of EIB) forty-five schools in Santiago were involved in the reform programme by 2003.¹⁷⁵

In 1994 the *Revista de Educación* underlined another example of indigenous cultures asserting their presence in Santiago: a collective celebration of *We Tripantu* (Mapuche New Year) not in a "traditional" rural community in Araucanía, but instead in the Santiago district of Pudahuel.¹⁷⁶ This event had nothing to do with EIB in itself, but its inclusion in the magazine indicated the latter's efforts to familiarise teachers with Santiago's Mapuche communities and show that their cultural autonomy remained valid. More than this, it demonstrated how their culture was constantly being renegotiated and re-enacted in the capital city. The *Revista de Educación* thus pointed to the internal dynamism and complexity of Mapuche society, exalting its culture and way of life rather than seeing it as a fundamental

¹⁷² Article 37c of the Indigenous Law (19.253) stipulated that the training programmes in indigenous languages, cultures and art "must be planned and carried out especially in the cities." EIB's "success stories", however, are far more numerous in rural areas with a high number of Mapuche inhabitants, probably because it is more relevant to the local community. For a positive assessment of the changes, in conjunction with the P900 scheme, see M. Mena and M. Prieto, 'From indifference towards local community collaboration: the case of a Chilean rural school', Paper presented at the International Congress for School Effectiveness and Improvement (San Antonio, Texas, 3rd- 6th January 1999).

¹⁷³ Marimán., 'Demanda por la educación...', p. 181.

¹⁷⁴ 'Educación Intercultural Bilingüe...', p. 33.

¹⁷⁵ Interview, Guillermo Williamson, Santiago, 3rd January 2003.

¹⁷⁶ 'We Tripantu', *Revista de Educación* 219 (August 1994), pp. 54-55.

problem and suggesting that Mapuche people could “invent” their own traditions or revive them in new spaces.¹⁷⁷

Perhaps the most important aspect of the Concertación governments’ commitment to an education system that promotes the cultural and ethnic diversity of the country is the idea that “intercultural” programmes should no longer be solely directed at the Mapuche or other indigenous peoples but at all students. Many schools have made Mapuzungun classes available for both Mapuche and non-Mapuche children.¹⁷⁸ Additionally, as shown in the first section of this chapter, Mapuche culture and history have been more fully incorporated into the History curriculum. Indigenous cultures also feature strongly in the Language and Communication syllabus.¹⁷⁹ That the Comisión Pro-Federación Estudiantes Indígenas demanded such changes in 1989 suggests that the government has proven willing to enter into a dialogue with indigenous organisations, including them in the reform process.¹⁸⁰ The commission also demanded that a university degree in *Pedagogía Mapuche* be created, “in which Mapuche language, culture and history [would be] taught” as well as more technical courses. As noted earlier, this now exists at the Universidad Católica’s regional sites in Temuco and Villarica. Mapuche participation in the education system as teachers has been a constant throughout the twentieth century, but it has undoubtedly experienced a “boom” effect in the last few years, due to the increased number of university grants available to Mapuche students.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ Although the article does not say so, many rural communities continue to celebrate the 24th June as San Juan not *We Tripantu*. It is precisely in the cities where the tradition has been re-invented.

¹⁷⁸ In 1999 the *Revista de Educación* (no. 271) celebrated the publication of 5000 copies of *AZUMCHEFI*, which emphasised the value of Mapuzungun to Mapuche people and Chilean society as a whole. Anecdotal evidence would also suggest that such ideas were filtering through to schools: visiting friends in Concepción in February 2003, I learnt that their (non-Mapuche) daughter was learning Mapuche words, songs and stories at school.

¹⁷⁹ See Ministerio de Educación, *Programa de estudios para Lenguaje y Comunicación, Educación Básica, Octavo Año* (Santiago: Gobierno de Chile, 2001).

¹⁸⁰ ‘Extracto de las reivindicaciones vertidas en los documentos propuestos a la Comisión Pro-Federación’, *Revista Liwen* 1 (1989), pp. 42-43.

¹⁸¹ Ministerio de Educación, *Estadísticas de la Educación, Año 2001* (Santiago: Gobierno de Chile, 2001); Amelia Gaete Trincado, ‘Estudio comparativo entre universitarios mapuche de la Araucanía, años 1970-1990’, *Lengua y Literatura Mapuche* 9 (2000), pp. 307-318.

Many Mapuche intellectuals have been actively involved in creating new teaching materials for schools included in the EIB programme, or indeed for schools not officially included but whose staff have shown willing to incorporate new teaching ideas. José Ancán, an art historian who runs the Centro de Documentación Mapuche (Liwen) in Temuco, has been involved in such activities since the early 1990s. He has not only developed new materials but also mobilised support for their adoption among school officials, teachers and community leaders throughout the country. Ancán was persuaded that “Chile’s school system, with certain much needed reforms, could be transformed into a vitally important instrument both for addressing the needs and problems of indigenous people.”¹⁸²

Despite these positive developments, the EIB reform programme has been heavily criticised for its inability to transform great potential into practical achievements. At the *Primer Congreso Cultura-Educación*, held in Santiago in January 2003, there was a general consensus that EIB had failed to be implemented on the ground. The government’s rhetorical commitment to the scheme was seen as just that, mere rhetoric.¹⁸³ Without far more extensive research than was possible for my project, it is difficult to be conclusive on this point, although it is possible to suggest several reasons why this should be the case. Firstly, many teachers are reluctant to take up the opportunities for change.¹⁸⁴ As observed by Alan Angell, in his work on Chile’s P900 and MECE-*Básica* projects, “No reform can work without the co-operation of teachers”.¹⁸⁵ Teachers unions, for example, often oppose reforms that they see as increasing the work of teachers but without any compensation. EIB demands a great deal of time and effort from teachers in terms of training, adopting new ideas and using new teaching materials. There are no economic incentives for this and, more importantly, it is not imposed on the teacher. As Guillermo Williamson explained, there are no inspection mechanisms to monitor implementation of curricular

¹⁸² See www.ashoka.org

¹⁸³ This was one of the main conclusions of the workshop debating ‘Cultural Diversity in Education’. I was able to attend this workshop and discuss the issues with many Mapuche and non-Mapuche teachers.

¹⁸⁴ Interview, Victor Huayquínir, Mapuche teacher from Santiago, 26th December 2002.

¹⁸⁵ Angell, ‘The Politics of Education Reform in Chile...’, p. 149.

changes.¹⁸⁶ Even schools that are officially part of the EIB scheme cannot oblige individual teachers to incorporate its methodology or suggested activities into classroom practice.

For Domingo Carileo and María Díaz Coliñir, who worked at the Instituto de Estudios Indígenas in Temuco and were involved in several pilot EIB schemes in the area, official recognition of the need for intercultural and bilingual education was more theoretical than practical.¹⁸⁷ EIB, they said, does not just happen by ideas alone – it needs funding and this is difficult to obtain. So, why has the government not invested? Why has it not imposed new EIB schemes? According to university lecturer Patricio Herrera, government discourse on the *tema indígena* is entirely superficial. Given the current political climate in Latin America and the global concern for indigenous rights, he said, it is difficult for the government to refuse to adapt education policies to suit indigenous organisations' demands; it at least has to appear as if it is moving in this direction.¹⁸⁸ Such demands, however, rarely coincide with the Chilean government's neo-liberal economic agenda.

Manuel Ramírez Calderón supports this argument, criticising the hegemonic discourse of globalisation found in the education reform proposals: "It seems that we have to prepare the twenty-first century worker for versatility" so that he/she "can assume the challenge of adjusting to the mercantile *vaivenes*, assigned by transnational capital."¹⁸⁹ (Significantly, the Indigenous Law of 1993 encouraged indigenous students to "develop their knowledge and abilities according to their own society's requirements *as well as* those of global society.") Calderón claimed that the education system of the late 1990s was still "incapable of attending to the socio-economic diversity" of the country, for the whole structure was geared towards previous homogenising goals. According to the author, potential reforms were

¹⁸⁶ Interview, Guillermo Williamson, 3rd January 2003.

¹⁸⁷ Interview, Domingo Carilao and María Díaz Coliñir, Mapuche teachers and education specialists from Temuco, 28th July 2001.

¹⁸⁸ Interview, Patricio Herrera, Santiago, 28th December 2002.

¹⁸⁹ Manuel Ramírez Calderón, 'Las contradicciones discursivas en la propuesta textual de la Reforma Educativa', *Alamedas* 3 (1997), p.24.

negated by the fact that most state schools had neither the economic resources nor the personnel to implement them. Ultimately, with no change made to the overarching political ideology of state authorities, any other reforms were piecemeal. Despite Aylwin's attempts to change it via the Indigenous Law of 1993, the Chilean constitution still fails to recognise the Mapuche as a "people", assuming only their status as an "ethnic group." Within this context, it seems impossible to install an education "from the communities" (as promoted by the *Revista de Educación*). Indeed, there have been many complaints that "interculturality" has been reduced to a few token Mapuzungun lessons or the occasional reference to indigenous peoples' cultural traditions and folklore.¹⁹⁰

In Guillermo Williamson's words, EIB "faces opponents who do not value the cultural and linguistic diversity [...] of the country and the region."¹⁹¹ However, "it also counts on teachers that find [in EIB] a rich source for modern pedagogical and social reconstruction." In a private interview Williamson expressed his frustration that the number of schools formally involved in the EIB programme was only three hundred (he provided a rough estimate) out of a total of 11,000, but stressed that these were the officially collated figures.¹⁹² Many EIB initiatives, he said, were not officially recorded: schools making changes to their teaching practices without necessarily reporting them, teachers incorporating intercultural materials (such as those developed by José Ancán) and so forth. Indeed, the most innovative changes have often been the result of individual decisions by teachers or local communities, not state directives. In short, the state has not imposed EIB on schools: by 2003 there was still no fixed model as to how an intercultural school should be run. Nevertheless, the state has established the parameters for these reforms and opened up an important space within which they can be enacted.

¹⁹⁰ Lorenzo Aillapán, 'Una mirada mapuche a la educación chilena', *Pentukun* 3 (1995), pp. 73-75; Mónica Huentumil, 'Educación Intercultural o Educación Mapuche?' *Waywen*, Corporación Mapuche Newen (November 2000), pp. 9-10.

¹⁹¹ Quoted in 'Chile Nación Multiétnica, El desafío de una nueva convivencia', *Revista de Educación* 247 (August 1997).

¹⁹² Interview, op. cit

An event held at Chile's oldest school, the Instituto Nacional in Santiago, on 24th June 2001 provides a telling illustration of both the important changes that have taken place as a result of intercultural reforms and the limits placed on these by reluctant teachers and unwilling state authorities.¹⁹³ In celebration of *We Tripantu*, Mapuche students at the school organised photo exhibitions, a video display protesting against the arrest of Mapuche activists, traditional food and music, and a discussion table including Mapuche poets, historians and political leaders. Many of their classmates participated, as did several of their parents. Such open criticism of the Chilean state and its role in racial discrimination against the Mapuche would surely have been very difficult under Pinochet. The main points to highlight here, however, are that only one teacher from the school was present and that the event received no official support from the school authorities. Moreover, there were a number of armoured police vans stationed outside the school, asserting state control over (rather than participation in) the celebrations.

Despite the limits to and criticisms of the Concertación's intercultural education policies, it seems that they have been successful in at least one important sphere – that of opening up a debate. Mapuche organisations claim that their demands have not been adhered to. People living in the rural communities argue that the reforms have made no real difference to the way in which their children are being taught. The “success stories” are relatively few and far between: change is slow and there are many limits as to how far the changes have been allowed to go. Nevertheless, these issues have all been subject to an open and lively debate between teachers, students, parents and political authorities (Mapuche and non-Mapuche). Moreover, the government has encouraged this debate: the *Revista de Educación* has published a wide variety of contentious viewpoints and government ministries have authorised and financed a number of books on the subject, some of which openly criticise the official reform programme.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ I was invited to attend the event by one of the participating poets.

¹⁹⁴ Eliseo Cañulef (ed.), *Introducción a la Educación Intercultural Bilingüe en Chile* (Temuco: Ediciones Universidad de la Frontera, 1998); Hugo Carrasco (ed.), *Análisis de los contenidos de los libros de texto de educación básica desde la perspectiva de la diversidad cultural* (Santiago:

Conclusion

Opinions on curricular reform and intercultural education projects seem to be divided between those who see the glass as half-empty and those who see it as half-full. Despite what seems, in theory, to have been a radical overhaul of Chilean state policy towards Mapuche culture, many Mapuche have become increasingly disillusioned by the lack of changes at a practical level. Thus the historical dilemma of resistance versus negotiation re-emerges. Having previously demanded that the state protect and enforce their rights as indigenous peoples within national society, many organisations have now opted to assert a more radical discourse of political and territorial autonomy. At a conference held by ARCIS University in Santiago in September 2003, for example, it became apparent that many young Mapuche activists had rejected Chilean education wholesale, perceiving it as foreign and irrelevant to the needs of their people. Paradoxically, these people had already passed through the Chilean education system and many of them had graduated from the country's most prestigious universities.

This chapter's analysis of successive education reforms suggests that (despite their discursive make-up and despite the praise Allende's reform law has received from many Mapuche intellectuals), neither of the oppositional political ideologies of Allende and Pinochet made a great deal of practical difference in promoting the acceptance of the country's ethnic heterogeneity. To be sure, the situation was quite different in other areas of government policy: as part of its agrarian reform programme, Popular Unity actively endorsed Mapuche communities' collective rights to land, whereas the military pushed through the division and privatisation of communal lands. With no indigenous lands, indigenous peoples would – the military said – cease to exist as such. Any Mapuche farmers who resisted were likely to be brutally repressed. (The memorial to the disappeared in Santiago's General Cemetery includes over a hundred Mapuche names.) However, the specific focus here is educational reform. Government discourse in this area is more complex than

Ministerio de Educación 2001); Ministerio de Planificación, *Informe Final del Grupo de Trabajo para los Pueblos Indígenas* (Santiago: Gobierno de Chile, 2000).

often assumed, particularly in the case of the military regime, but both for Allende and Pinochet, as well as Frei Montalva before, the Mapuche generally represented a “problem” to be solved through socio-economic integration. The military government’s discourse was more explicitly and violently assimilationist: its history syllabus promoted a more *hispanista* version of Chilean-ness and seemed to endorse a more evolutionist view of society. However, the underlying objective of each government’s education policy was in many ways the same – to transform the Mapuche into useful Chilean citizens.

The Concertación governments have opened up the debate on dominant conceptions of Chilean-ness and Indian-ness, making the two more compatible, but they have failed to enforce large-scale practical changes. Certain educational developments, as promoted via the *Revista de Educación* and assumed in the teaching programmes and textbooks, openly contradict other aspects of state policy. For example, the term “people” (in reference to the Mapuche) has been endorsed by the education system but is rejected by the constitution and free discussion promoted via the education system is suppressed when Mapuche communities protest against the government’s neo-liberal economic agenda. Such realities point to the incoherence of government policies towards indigenous peoples.

Official discourses of *mestizaje* and multiculturalism have allowed the Mapuche a place within the nation, as a culturally and ethnically different people, but only as long as they subscribe to a certain role laid out by the state. In this sense, the content of education may have undergone important transformations but the process itself has changed very little. The education system only allows the debate to go so far, but the debate is important nonetheless and many Mapuche (as students, teachers and participants in state reform projects) are engaged in this debate. Their contributions highlight Chilean education reform as a highly curious and contradictory arena, the cause of much frustration but also a degree of hope.

CHAPTER THREE

Debating Pluralism in Chilean Museums

Chile's Supreme Director, Bernardo O'Higgins, sought to establish a national museum as early as 1813, only three years after independence was first declared from Spain.¹ Such efforts were indicative of the perceived importance of museums in the construction of a modern nation-state: together with schools, public monuments, civic acts, historiography, art and literature they helped to create and maintain an imagined community.² This chapter investigates the history of five Chilean museums: the Museo Histórico Nacional [National History Museum], the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural [National Museum of Natural History], the Museo Regional de la Araucanía [Regional Museum of Araucania], the Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino [Chilean Museum of Pre-Columbian Art] and the Museo Mapuche de Cañete [Mapuche Museum of Cañete]. There are two reasons for choosing these specific museums. Firstly, they allow for a comparison between two state-run national museums in the capital Santiago and two state-run local museums in the southern regions, where Mapuche cultural influence is manifestly evident. A second comparison can then be drawn between the four state museums and a widely acclaimed private institution – the Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino – to ascertain how far the willingness (or reluctance) of museum authorities to encourage debate was the result of state control. The history of the five museums reflects the variety of national imaginings that have existed during the twentieth century. It also suggests that, while far-reaching changes to museum displays only began in the 1990s, these cultural institutions provided openings (however limited) for Mapuche participation in identity debates throughout this period.

My investigation of Chilean museums has greatly benefited from – and must be understood in the context of – the recent proliferation of scholarly works examining

¹ Grete Mostny, *Los Museos de Chile* (Santiago: Editora Nacional Gabriela Mistral, 1975), p. 16.

the place of this cultural institution in modern society and its role in the construction of historical memory. Latin America does not feature prominently in this literature, although several studies have helped to clarify my thinking about the developments taking place in Chile.³ Chile itself rarely features, though a major exception is Patience Schell's fascinating work on history museums in late nineteenth century Santiago.⁴ My own work, then, aims to incorporate Chile more fully into the broader debates about museums.

The literature indicates a major shift in thinking about both the aims of museums and their capacity to influence people's perceptions of the world around them. In line with top-down modernist approaches to nationalism and national identity, museums have commonly been interpreted as part of the ideological apparatus of the ruling elite, a vital tool in the latter's bid to secure cultural hegemony. To a certain extent, the monumental work of Pierre Nora concurred with this interpretation of museums.⁵ They were one of his *lieux de memoire* (sites of memory) – places, objects, symbols or words charged with creating an artificial memory – which, according to Nora, emerged in the nineteenth century as a replacement for *les milieux de memoire* (settings in which memory was a pervasive part of everyday existence).

However, the idea that museums act merely as instruments of cultural governance has been increasingly disputed during recent years, as has Nora's approach to historical memory, particularly his claim that one form of memory completely replaced another. As demonstrated by Kirk Savage's work on US veterans'

² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

³ Jens Andermann 'Total recall: texts and corpses; the museums of Argentinian narrative', *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 6: 1 (1997); 'Re-Shaping the Creole Past: History Exhibitions in late Nineteenth-Century Argentina', *Journal of the History of Collections* 13: 2 (2001); Néstor García Canclini, *Culturas híbridas: Estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad* (Mexico D.F.: Grijalbo, 1990), pp. 158-176.

⁴ Patience Schell, 'Exhuming the Past with the Future in Mind: History Exhibitions and Museums in Late Nineteenth Century Chile', part of the web-based project *Relics and Selves: Iconographies of the National in Argentina, Brazil and Chile, 1880-1900*, hosted and administered by Birkbeck College, London (2001-). See www.bbk.ac.uk/ibamuseum. See also 'Capturing Chile: Santiago's Museo Nacional during the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 10: 1 (2001).

⁵ Pierre Nora, *Les lieux de memoire*, 3 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1982-1986).

commemorations of the Vietnam War, multiple spontaneous or unofficial forms of remembering are still prominent in contemporary society.⁶ These have not been eliminated by “officialised” memories of historical events. Indeed, the two can exist alongside (and sometimes in conflict with) each other. Nora’s work has also been criticised for its essentialisation of memory, its suggestion that an unmediated form of collective memory would once have been possible. The acknowledgement that memory has always been constructed, and that it is constantly being reconstructed or re-negotiated, has allowed for the existence of multiple and conflicting memories. It has also stimulated important questions about the ownership of memory. As noted by Karp and Lavine, few serious museum practitioners would now claim that museums are able to impose a uniform memory on their visitors.⁷ Instead, most envisage their workplace as a potential forum: “a space for confrontation, experimentation and debate.”⁸ This does not preclude the state from *trying* to enforce a national narrative on its citizens via these cultural institutions.⁹ However, the outcome may be very different, as will be shown below.

This chapter examines the creation of five Chilean museums as a window on to the identity discourses being promoted by the government at the time. Chilean governments started to take a serious interest in asserting control over museums at the same time as they sought to further their reach through education: in 1929 Carlos Ibáñez del Campo’s administration created DIBAM – the Department of Libraries, Archives and Museums. The state established the parameters within which representations of Mapuche and Chilean identities could operate in museums; directors were, after all, appointed by DIBAM. However, the state has also provided an important space for change, and civil society can and has taken advantage of such developments. It is these openings within Chilean museums which are the main

⁶ Kirk Savage, ‘The Politics of Memory: Black Emancipation and the Civil War Monument’, in John Gillis (ed.), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 127-149.

⁷ Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (London: Smithsonian Institution, 1991), p. 3.

⁸ Duncan Cameron, ‘The Museum: A Temple or the Forum’, *Journal of World History* 14: 1 (1972).

⁹ See Eric Davis, ‘The Museum and Politics of Social Control in Modern Iraq’, in Gillis (ed.) *Commemorations*.

concern of the present chapter. Hence, my work focuses not only on the museums' creation but also on the transformations they have undergone since they were created.

There is little doubt that some of the museums analysed here, particularly the Museo Histórico Nacional, have promoted a conservative *hispanista* version of Chilean-ness. Neither is there much doubt that the five museums have often represented the Mapuche as distinctly "other" to *chilenidad* and this chapter will document the most common means used to do this. Many people would expect indigenous peoples to be unequally represented in Chilean museums, both because it is a question of Chile (where governments have often denied the very existence of indigenous cultures) and because it is a question of the museum: in James Clifford's words, "What more bourgeois, conservative and European institution?"¹⁰ Given that the museum was a European development, closely linked to the process of colonialism and imperialism, it is often conceived as symbolic of racialised hierarchies, discrimination and oppression. It may therefore seem predictable that indigenous peoples in Chile would reject the institution, and many do. Mapuche poet Leonel Lienlaf, for example, claims that museums are only for the dead and buried, not a thriving culture.¹¹

However, this chapter will show that alternative discourses of nationhood have emerged in all five museums to offset or revise the dominant conservative narrative. Ideas of *chilenidad* based on land and nature have had a particularly powerful impact, a development – in its twentieth century guise – that has to be understood within the context of the rise of the social sciences in Chile, especially anthropology. Moreover, if the debate has been limited by power structures at national level – although this is not always the case – it has often flourished at local level. It is also important to look past the permanent exhibitions of museums (change here is

¹⁰ James Clifford, *Routes, Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (London: Harvard University Press, 1997).

¹¹ Leonel Lienlaf, quoted in Ariel Antillanca, Clorinda Cuminao and César Loncón, *Escritos mapuches, 1910-1999* (Santiago: Ediciones Lom, 1998), p. 118.

notoriously slow, particularly when financial resources are so limited), to the general workings of museums and the events or activities they have sponsored. Such insights provide for a more complex account of the role of museums in identity debates in twentieth-century Chile.

Having outlined Chile's relevance to some of the issues raised by the theoretical literature, I would argue that the most useful approach to museums is that taken by James Clifford who, building on the work of Mary Louise Pratt, described this cultural institution as a 'contact zone'.¹² This notion provides for a middle ground between the museum as a temple of the ruling elite, used to impose its narrative on a populace, and the museum as a forum for debate. The first is overly state-centric and closes off other dimensions of agency. The second implies that different social sectors find themselves on an equal footing within museums, that their viewpoints can somehow co-exist in an unproblematic or syncretic manner. 'Contact zones' helpfully introduces relations of power into the equation: they are spaces "of colonial encounters", where "geographically and historically separated people come into contact with one another".¹³ Such encounters involve interaction, but under "conditions of coercion, radical inequality and intractable conflict". Hence, subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other, but these are often radically asymmetrical relations of power.

El Museo Histórico Nacional

Created by state decree in May 1911, during the government of Ramón Barros Luco and in the aftermath of the centenary celebrations of independence, this museum reflected none of the pessimism of the "literature of national decline" prominent at the time. Instead, the museum sought to glorify both Chile's past and present, concentrating on its momentous achievements as a nation rather than its failures or its problems. In many ways, the original museum exhibition was illustrative of a liberal-conservative consensus on national history. Under the directorship of Joaquín

¹² James Clifford, 'Museums as Contact Zones', Chapter Seven of *Routes, Travel and Translation*.

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 192.

Figuerola Larraín, it laid great emphasis on Chile's impressive record of progress and modernisation, and those responsible for such success, according to the museum exhibition, were the political and military elite. All objects on display in the civil and military history sections had belonged to the elite, which was unsurprising given that museums were often the result of donations and it was only the wealthy that could afford to give such things away.¹⁴ Thus Chilean national identity, as portrayed by the Museo Histórico Nacional in its early years, was predominantly an elite construction. It also sought to forge a civic as opposed to an ethnic nationalism among its visitors. Despite the widely debated literary endeavours of figures such as Nicolás Palacios (discussed in Chapter One), the museum's exhibition focused on the development of the country's military and political institutions and included only a minimal representation of indigenous peoples. For the main part, the latter were relegated to the pre-historic section, which was relatively insignificant in comparison with the sections on civil and military history. A short review of the exhibition, published in 1914, told of the "glorious and magnificent" relics on display from Chile's colonial and republican past. In contrast, objects in the pre-historic section were described as rudimentary and primitive.¹⁵

From its inception, the museum also endorsed a conservative Hispanicised version of *chilenidad*, which seemed to co-exist – albeit uneasily – with a narrative based on the civic (liberal) values of nationhood. Via the museum's exhibition, the majestic feats of the Spanish *conquistadores* became the majestic feats of the Chilean nation. To some extent, then, the Museo Histórico Nacional celebrated Spanish colonial rule in Chile. Indeed, its account of Chilean history (as opposed to pre-history) began with the arrival of the Spanish. The version of national identity presented by the museum can be traced back to the work of historian and parliamentarian Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna (1831-1886). As demonstrated by the labels accompanying paintings on display in the early 2000s, the temporary exhibition he organised in Santiago in 1873, entitled 'Exhibition on Colonialism', constituted an important part

¹⁴ Rony Goldschmied, *Museos: Reproducción o transformación social?* (UNESCO, 1986)

¹⁵ Blan Mor, *El Museo Histórico Nacional* (Santiago: Zig-Zag, 1914).

of the museum's original collection. Vicuña Mackenna's objective was to remind Chileans of their colonial past and to preserve objects from this period. According to Patience Schell, the temporary exhibition included some indigenous artefacts, as well as some "live cannibals" brought from the southern territories but, for the main part, Vicuña Mackenna sought to create a nation rooted firmly in its colonial rather than indigenous past.¹⁶ This coincided with his vehement attacks on Mapuche culture, discussed in Chapter One. For Vicuña Mackenna, the Mapuche were distinctly "other" to *chilenidad*, a "race that [formed] no part of the Chilean people."¹⁷

Vicuña Mackenna's exhibition had also exalted Chilean militarism, displaying an impressive array of weapons in both its colonial and republican sections.¹⁸ Acquiring this collection as well as a substantial donation from the Museo de Armas Antiguas [Museum of Ancient Weapons], which had been created in 1880 in response to public interest in the War of the Pacific, the Museo Histórico Nacional allocated a significant space to military history in its opening exhibition. Such a focus was indicative of the centrality of warfare in the construction of Chilean national identity. It was in relation to this element of national imaginings that the Mapuche were assigned a more important role in the museum than other indigenous cultures. As a result of their heroic resistance against the Spanish, Mapuche people were present in the museum's colonial as well as pre-historic section. In terms of their place in Chilean nationhood, however, they were – ironically – displaced by Spanish militarism. The glories of Chile began with its discovery and colonisation by Spain; because they fought against the Spanish the Mapuche then became an obstacle to such glories. How different this was to the official identity discourses of the early

¹⁶ Schell, 'Exhuming the Past...'

¹⁷ Quoted in Patricio Herrera, 'La cuestión de Arauco: Un problema de dignidad nacional durante el siglo XIX', in Manuel Loyola and Sergio Grez (eds.), *Los proyectos nacionales en el pensamiento político y social chileno del siglo XIX* (Santiago: Ediciones UCSH, 2002), p. 86.

¹⁸ Schell, 'Exhuming the Past...'

independence years, when the Mapuche warriors' violent struggle against the Spanish meant they were hailed as the founding fathers of the Chilean nation.¹⁹

One visitor's account from 1947 suggests that a Hispanicised version of national identity was still prominent 36 years after the museum was founded. Describing the room dedicated to the independence wars, Carlos Otero wrote: "We are overwhelmed by the flags, war trophies and weapons of our grandfathers, who gave us a homeland with that deep sense of Castillian honour and nobility."²⁰ Despite fighting against the Spanish to gain independence, the "grandfathers" were perceived as having on their Spanish military legacy. Otero's review of the colonial section was more telling still: "In the middle of room the silhouette of a Spanish soldier predominates. [He] is surrounded by different weapons [...] all the instruments of war on which the Spanish soldier depended to dominate the naked Indians armed only with arrows made of bamboo, but the [latter's] courage and love of freedom was more effective than all this arsenal."²¹ The Mapuche were represented as brave warriors, who had been successful in their resistance. However, they were perceived as primitive compared to the Spanish and their success was attributed to romantic idealism (love of their homeland) instead of military strategy (tactics and weapons). Moreover, the following rooms were – according to Otero's account – dominated by the portraits of Spanish governors and relics illustrating their glorious triumphs. The Spanish, it seemed, were destined for success in Chile regardless of the initial set back caused by Araucanian resistance.

That a Hispanicist version of Chilean-ness dominated its exhibition halls during the first half of the twentieth century, however, did not preclude the Museo Histórico Nacional from making at least some attempts to incorporate other narratives. Indeed, changes were underway from the 1930s onwards. This was primarily the result of the labours of Chilean anthropologist Aureliano Oyarzún, director of the museum

¹⁹ Collier, *Ideas and Politics of Chilean Independence*; Lewis, 'Myth and History of Chile's Araucanians'.

²⁰ Carlos Otero Silva, 'El Museo Histórico Nacional es una vitrina de las glorias de la patria', *En Viaje* 168, (Oct. 1947).

between 1929 and 1946. Until 1929 Oyarzún had been director of the Museo de Etnografía y Antropología, created in 1912 to help display and store the pre-historic collection from the Museo Histórico Nacional. (As noted above, the latter did not provide much space for nor pay much attention to its pre-historic collection.) With the creation of DIBAM in 1929, however, the anthropology museum was shut down and both its director and its collection were moved (or, in the case of many objects, simply returned) to the Museo Histórico Nacional.²²

Under Oyarzún the museum acquired many more items related to Chile's indigenous cultures (including the Mapuche) and the pre-historic section was both expanded and greatly improved. Oyarzún, who was one of the pioneers of Chilean anthropology, had a great interest in Chile's pre-Hispanic cultures and his own work refuted the predominant stereotypes of indigenous peoples as savage and barbaric.²³ He also argued against the use of terms such as "high" and "low" cultures, precisely the way in which the Museo Histórico Nacional appeared to have hitherto separated indigenous cultures from the Spanish.²⁴ By bringing anthropology into the museum and increasing the visual presence of indigenous cultures, Oyarzún helped to open up national identity debates.

Objects continued to be collected from Mapuche territory in the 1950s. One Santiago newspaper showed particular interest in the museum's acquisition of canoes from Chiloé (Mapuche-Huilliche territory) in 1953 – during the second government of Carlos Ibáñez – and reminded its readers of Ercilla's exaltation of Mapuche warriors in the epic poem *La Araucana*.²⁵ Even Manuel Aburto Panguilef, a controversial Mapuche leader who had proclaimed the existence of an "Indigenous Republic", seemed to support the preservation work of the Museo Histórico Nacional: displaying relics of the past, he believed, attested to the riches of Mapuche

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² The museum's first director, Figueroa Larraín, had died the same year.

²³ See Aureliano Oyarzún, *Aborígenes de Chile* (Santiago: Imprenta Chile, 1927).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6, p. 27.

²⁵ *Últimas Noticias* (24th January 1953).

culture and, more importantly, preserved them.²⁶ By the 1960s, a folklore collection had been incorporated into the pre-historic display and one magazine, run by the national rail network, praised the staff who worked in this section for their “labour of Chilean-ness”.²⁷ The same magazine also claimed that the museum offered “a complete vision of our race”, possibly an indication that its exhibitions had become more inclusive.

While the above changes were undoubtedly significant, the emphasis of the displays remained on the pre-historic past of Chile’s indigenous peoples, thereby obscuring their present. The pre-historic section still focused on the discoveries of archaeological excavations, hence ceramic and stone objects predominated.²⁸ There were no Mapuche weavings on display, for example, and none of the ceremonial costumes of Mapuche *caciques*, which were representative of pre-Columbian times but also relevant to contemporary Mapuche communities. As noted by the Santiago daily *El Imparcial*, such objects would have been relatively easy to acquire and would have enlivened the collection.²⁹ Oyarzún himself appeared to have little interest in Chile’s living indigenous cultures. He seemed to resent the fact that the Mapuche attracted so much academic attention: work was more urgently needed, he said, on the pre-historic cultures that were already extinct.³⁰ Indeed, the museum publication (*Revista del Museo Histórico Nacional*), for which he was responsible, and which included many studies of Chile’s other indigenous cultures, made no mention of Mapuche culture or history during its nine years of existence (1936-1945). Indigenous peoples, relegated to pre-history, were still absent from Chile’s modern republican history, which remained the exclusive domain of political and military elites. Therefore the Mapuche were no more incorporated into contemporary discourses of Chilean nationhood than they had been before.

²⁶ André Menard described the historical museum as “an institutional space for [Panguilef and Ercilla’s] mythology”. See André Menard, ‘Manuel Aburto Panguilef: De la República Indígena al Sionismo Mapuche’, Nuke-Mapu Working Paper Series 12 (2003). See www.soc.uu.se/mapuche.

²⁷ Eliana Ahumada and Leontina Daza Kallens, ‘Reportaje al Museo Histórico Nacional’, *En Viaje* 344 (June 1962), pp. 13-15.

²⁸ *Catálogo del Museo* (Santiago: Museo Histórico Nacional, 1968).

²⁹ *El Imparcial* (20th December 1944).

³⁰ Oyarzún, *Aborígenes de Chile*, p. 6.

The conservative version of national identity (which never completely receded in this museum) was reinforced by the military regime of Augusto Pinochet. By 1976 the government had appointed Hernán Rodríguez, a military officer, as director of the Museo Histórico Nacional, thus demonstrating its determination to stamp its own narrative onto this institution. The museum was perceived as a perfect complement to formal patriotic education, through which strong authoritarian leaders and the armed forces were enshrined as national heroes. To this end, the museum's educational guides directly supported the regime's version of history.³¹ In contrast, the other four museums investigated in this chapter experienced no dramatic changes either to their staff or to their exhibitions during the military regime.

According to one of the museum's brochures (1980), Mapuche people remained present in the colonial section as heroic warriors fighting the Spanish. In reference to the process of *mestizaje*, however, the reader was told that "Spanish cultural norms predominated" implying that input from indigenous peoples was no longer relevant.³² In addition, the *Boletín del Museo Histórico Nacional*, published between 1978-1981, included no reference to the institution's work on indigenous peoples. The most significant development to take place during this period, however, was the removal of the museum's displays on Chile's pre-history: the authorities decided that this section should be relocated to the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural.³³ Reportedly, the objective of such changes was to make greater space available for those exhibits more directly related to Chile's "historia patria".³⁴ Indigenous cultures

³¹ See 'Breve reseña de Museo Histórico Nacional', *Revista de Educación* 56 (1976), pp. 69-74.

³² *Guía del Museo* (Santiago: Museo Histórico Nacional, 1980).

³³ For a retrospective account of the removal of indigenous objects from the museum see *La Epoca* (11th March 1996); *El Mercurio* (30th January 1997); *El Metropolitano* (13th March 2000). All three articles confirm that such changes took place in 1982, however, ex-staff of the museum, Vanya Roba and Norma Vera, claimed that the ethnographical collections were removed in 1975. Interview, Vanya Roba and Norma Vera, Santiago, 4th January 2003. Grete Mostny's account of the history of the museum would seem to confirm the latter version of events. See Mostny, *Museos de Chile*, op. cit. Perhaps the collection was transferred in stages, and was not definitively taken away (or the pre-historic section shut down) until the Museo Histórico Nacional moved to different premises on the *Plaza de Armas* in 1982.

³⁴ Whatever the discrepancy with dates, all the sources noted above agreed on the motives behind the changes.

were thus written out of national history and reduced to the level of a history of Chile's flora and fauna.

Such a narrative was to be radically revised by historian Sofía Correa Sutil, when she was appointed director of the Museo Histórico Nacional in 1994. Seeking to convey a far more inclusive version of *chilenidad* than that expounded by the military regime, Correa made a formal proposal to DIBAM to reform the museum's entire exhibition. In line with international developments in museum theory, she stressed that its exhibition halls should provide a forum for debate, including multiple interpretations of historical events as well as a plurality of historical actors.³⁵ To this end, she brought in approximately twenty Chilean academics to work on the reforms, a number of whom had produced detailed studies of Mapuche society and been involved in a concerted effort within academia to reconstruct history from a Mapuche perspective.³⁶ In direct opposition to the exhibition of the 1980s, Correa urged that indigenous cultures be represented as a fundamental part of the Chilean nation. The final outline for the changes (after many discussion sessions) confirmed her position: "The exhibition", it said, "must emphasise the essential integration of indigenous peoples into national history. They are not to be confined to the period prior to the arrival of the Spanish, but rather shown as having continued to contribute to national life until today."³⁷

Correa's academic work concurred with the new discourse of multiculturalism being promoted by the Concertación in the early 1990s.³⁸ She was also involved in its educational reform programme, which set about the comprehensive revision of the standardised national history curriculum. (See Chapter Two.) Despite clear overlaps between her politics and those of the government, Correa had many problems trying

³⁵ Sofía Correa Sutil *et al.*, *Proyecto Modernización del Museo Histórico Nacional* (Santiago: Museo Histórico Nacional, 1994) p. 7.

³⁶ These included Carlos Aldunate, Rolf Foerster, Julio Pinto, Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt, Sergio Grez and Andrea Ruiz Esquide. Many texts in the museum now print the author's name alongside so visitors that know it is his/her version of history and not an attempt to convey one official history.

³⁷ Correa Sutil, *Proyecto Modernización*, p. 17.

³⁸ Sofía Correa Sutil, Consuelo Figueroa, Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt, Claudia Rolle and Manuel Vicuña, *Historia del Siglo XX Chileno: balance paradójico* (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 2001).

to secure funding for the exhibition's overhaul.³⁹ Indeed, according to Correa, DIBAM refused to fund the changes until 1997, which meant that the creation of the Sala Indígena (discussed below) went ahead without state support, covered by the museum's own minimal economic resources. Even once DIBAM endorsed her plans for the museum, Correa still had to fight off a barrage of criticism from conservative historians in Chile. One innovation that caused particular controversy was her decision to include Salvador Allende's glasses (left shattered in La Moneda on the day of the coup) in the exhibition.⁴⁰ So, the debate surrounding the reforms did not so much focus on the Mapuche or ethnic politics, but rather the class-based politics of the 1960s-1970s, and state attempts to open up different historical perspectives on the coup of 1973 and the dictatorship which followed.

That said, several of the renovations were aimed at revising Chilean/Mapuche history within an ethnic context, and many of Correa's proposals on the subject were indeed carried out. Firstly, *mestizaje* was highlighted in the displays as one of the key processes in Chile's historical development.

More importantly, it was the cultural rather than racial or socio-economic aspects that were (and still are) brought to the visitor's attention. For example, the last room dedicated to the colonial period contains a reconstruction of a creole kitchen in which a woman is preparing a meal. (See Fig. 1.) The text accompanying the scene explains how the woman is using indigenous corn and Spanish wheat in her cooking, and visitors are told about the indigenous origins of many Chilean food products. Hence, indigenous cultures live on through the version of *mestizaje* promoted by the museum. The second major innovation was the creation of the *Sala Indígena* [Indigenous Room] in 1996. This is the first room of the exhibition so visitors now enter Chilean history through the indigenous rather



Fig. 1

³⁹ Interview, Sofía Correa Sutil, University of Santiago, 29th November 2002.

⁴⁰ Archivo del Museo Histórico Nacional, Sofía Correa, 'Discurso donación anteojos del Presidente Allende' (17th November 1996).



Fig. 2

than the Spanish world. The main piece in the room is a *rewe* (a wooden structure symbolising a stairway between the natural and spiritual worlds) commissioned by the museum from a local Mapuche artist, who was thus able to bring his own perspective on life into the exhibition. (See Fig. 2.) Important changes were also made to the room on 'Descubrimiento y Conquista' [Discovery and Conquest]: the Mapuche are currently represented as more active and successful in their resistance against the Spanish and there are Mapuche as well as Spanish weapons on display. More importantly, texts accompanying the exhibits highlight the Mapuche warriors' defeat of the Spanish, a fact previously sidelined.⁴¹

Thus, the exhibition has undergone significant alterations since the mid-1990s. However, Mapuche inclusion in the museum's imaginings of Chilean-ness remains limited. (Such limitations were not entirely unforeseen considering the opposition Correa faced. While her plans to update the Museo Histórico Nacional tended to focus on other aspects of Chilean history it is possible that widespread opposition meant that the whole programme of change, including those parts related to ethnic politics, had to be scaled down.) Mapuche culture and society certainly have far more presence in the museum in the early 2000s than ever before, but the *way* they are presented remains problematic. Texts in the Sala Indígena, for example, still refer to indigenous cultures in the past tense only. The Mapuche are described as a people who *lived* to the south of the Bio-Bio River, but visitors do not learn where they live today. No part of the exhibition tells the visitor anything about contemporary Mapuche culture. The exhibition merely provides an overwhelming sense of the traces left behind by indigenous peoples. Also problematic is the location of the Sala Indígena. Organised in chronological consequence it precedes the section on 'Descubrimiento y Conquista', yet it includes many objects (such as silverware and photographs) from post-Columbian times. Despite Correa's reform

⁴¹ Interview, Correa, 29th November 2002.

proposal, then, the museum still separates indigenous peoples from the rest of Chilean history.

In addition, images of Mapuche culture displayed in the Sala Indígena are stereotypically derogatory. One of the photographs shows a 'Young Mapuche Man' dressed in very little clothing with a spear in his right hand: the archetypal primitive. (See



Fig. 3

Fig. 3.) The museum's photographic archive contains hundreds of images of the Mapuche, some of which offer powerful depictions of *llonkgos* (local authorities) dressed in all their finery surrounded by people from their community. It also has photographs of Mapuche ceremonies in which hundreds of people are participating, testifying to Mapuche pride in their cultural traditions and their enduring presence in Chilean society.⁴² One can only question why this kind of photograph is not included in the exhibition, particularly when the museum has information on their origins that could be shared with the visitor. This is not the case for the photographs now on display, for the museum can tell visitors very little about the 'young Mapuche man', the old Mapuche *llongko* of 137 years in his tattered poncho, the girl with a baby on her back. These (undated) images are seemingly plucked from a void, de-contextualised and tell a story of a passive people frozen in the past.

Despite an increased Mapuche presence in the room on 'Descubrimiento y Conquista', events are still written from a predominantly Spanish perspective. One painting shows Doña Inés de Suarez, Pedro de Valdivia's mistress, in the midst of battle accompanied by soldiers victoriously waving Mapuche heads impaled on spikes. (See Fig. 4.) Letters displayed in a glass case detail the problems Spanish governors faced in the Kingdom of Chile, mainly constant attacks by Mapuche

⁴² I was able to browse through the museum's photographic collection on several occasions. There are also several books on Mapuche photography, which tell a great deal about the history of the photos, who was taking them, when, how and of whom. See Margarita Alvarado et al., *Mapuche Fotografías*



Fig. 4

warriors. The latter are thus presented as the aggressors and the fact that the Spanish invaded their lands and attacked them first is quietly ignored. The name of the room in itself was also controversial, particularly because Correa's reform proposal had specifically noted how many indigenous peoples rejected terms such as discovery and conquest.⁴³ The space for dialogue between Mapuche people and this institution therefore seems minimal.

Such a pessimistic outlook is confirmed by the displays dedicated to the 'Proyecto Nacional' [National Project] of the nineteenth century: here Chilean national identity is still firmly linked to notions of progress and modernisation. Mapuche communities are portrayed as an obstacle to this project, but an obstacle that was easily overcome during the Chilean army's occupation of their lands in the 1880s. According to the text accompanying the display, the occupation campaigns caused great suffering to Mapuche people because they lost their land and became desperately poor. This apart, though, it was considered a straightforward process: "The Mapuche resisted but the superiority of the Chilean military forces was unstoppable as was the civilising ideology that justified the advance of the troops." Undeniably written from the perspective of the "civilising" ideology, the museum's narrative reinforces the positivist dichotomy of civilisation versus barbarism. The photograph of a group of Mapuche men included in the display (see Fig. 5) represents them as downtrodden and subordinate and gives the impression that they surrendered easily. There is no mention of the violent conflict and consequent deaths (of Mapuche and non-Mapuche), about which there is a great deal



Fig. 5

Siglo XIX y XX: Construcción y Montaje de un Imaginario (Santiago: Editores Pehuén, 2001). Some of the photos on display in the museum can be found in this book.

⁴³ Correa Sútíl, *Proyecto Modernización del Museo Histórico Nacional*, p. 18.

of historical evidence.⁴⁴ Nor is any information provided about the parliamentary debates taking place at the time, newspaper commentaries on the military invasion, or Mapuche communities' responses to it.

The rooms that follow the 'Proyecto Nacional', quite to the contrary, openly debate Chile's history of conflict. An enlarged photograph of the dead from a battle of the civil war of 1891 is displayed on a wall of its own. There is also a collage of photographs depicting the political tensions and economic depression of the 1930s: one specifically refers to the Seguro Obrero massacre in 1938.⁴⁵ The last room is full of poster boards illustrating labour unrest, hunger strikes, agrarian protest, student political campaigns and the inclusion of women in the public space. Such an effort to bring these sectors into the historical debate points to the museum's elaboration of a more popular national identity, a move away from an exclusively elitist interpretation of history. There seems to be an official willingness to debate past conflict from a class, even a gender perspective, however, the ethnic conflict in Chile is still avoided and the Mapuche remain marginalised as subjects of national history. There is no space for those Mapuche who fought against the Chilean army in the 1880s, nor those who sided with the government and demanded recompense for their services. Thus Mapuche resistance against or collaboration with the Chilean state – then and now – and their perspectives on historical events are silenced by the Museo Histórico Nacional.

El Museo Nacional de Historia Natural

Seventeen years after Bernardo O'Higgins' thwarted efforts to create a national museum, the Chilean state decreed the foundation of the Museo Nacional (its name has since changed to distinguish it from other national museums). For the purposes

⁴⁴ Pascual Coña, *Memorias de un cacique mapuche* (Santiago: ICIRA, 1971); Leandro Navarro, *Crónica militar de la conquista y pacificación de la Araucanía desde el año 1859 hasta su completa incorporación* (Santiago: Imprenta Lourdes, 1909); Francisco A. Subercaseaux, *Memorias de la campaña a Villarica, 1882-1883* (Santiago: Imprenta de la Librería Americana, 1883).

⁴⁵ On September 5th 1938 a group of *nacistas* (rebellng against Alessandri's government) seized the Caja del Seguro Obligatorio and the Universidad de Chile, killing a policeman in the process. When the army arrived with artillery the rebels surrendered. They were 61 in total and were all rounded up and shot dead by the Carabineros.

of this chapter, its history illustrates the development of a very different version of national identity to that presented by the Museo Histórico Nacional discussed above. The opening exhibition at the Museo Nacional was assembled by French naturalist Claude Gay, who was commissioned in the 1830s by Diego Portales to travel from Chile's northern to southern extremities and return with the main flora, fauna and mineral products found within its territory.⁴⁶ The collection of objects was then put on public display in Santiago in order for the residents of the capital city to learn about the different parts of their country. Such explicit instructions and the resulting exhibition were suggestive of the importance that land and nature played in the formation of a particularly Chilean national identity during the first half of the nineteenth century.

In the early independence years the Chilean state lacked a strong institutional base and therefore drew on the country's geography and natural landscape as something which bound all Chileans, something which united them but which at the same time made them distinctive from other nationalities. During this period the ruling elite promoted a relatively inclusive version of *chilenidad*: drawing on the legacy of the European Enlightenment, it conferred on the nation the meaning of a union of individuals living together within a shared territory. It was the natural beauty and geographic diversity of this shared territory that could most readily be exalted in order to encourage the populace's pride in being "Chilean". By the mid- to late-nineteenth century inclusive nationalism had been superseded by its more selectively exclusive version founded upon liberal positivist notions of progress and modernisation, corresponding to the second stage in Eric Hobsbawm's periodisation of the development of nationalism in Latin America.⁴⁷ Only those who shared a belief in the need for progress could be members of the nation. Chile's natural panorama and diverse geography were no longer exalted as the embodiment of

⁴⁶ *El Museo Nacional de Historia Natural: Orgullo de los Chilenos* (Santiago: Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, 1980); Alejandra Gajardo, '170 años del Museo de Historia Natural. El largo camino del registro natural de Chile', *Patrimonio Cultural* 19 (October 2000), pp. 22-23.

⁴⁷ Eric Hobsbawm, 'Nationalism and National Identity in Latin America', in Bouda Eternad, Jean Batou and Thomas David (eds.), *Towards an International Economic and Social History: Essays in Honour of Paul Bairoch* (Geneva: Edition Passé Present, 1995).

nationhood; instead, notions of democratic republicanism and loyalty to the country's well-established political institutions were drawn upon to inculcate sentiments of national belonging.

Such developments demonstrate that the emergent popular nationalism of the 1930s based on emotive evocations of land and nature was not an entirely new phenomenon. The writings of intellectuals such as Gabriela Mistral, Benjamín Subercaseaux and Pablo Neruda, who celebrated the country's distinctive natural beauty and its people's relationship with the land, were drawing on an element of *chilenidad* that the state had begun to develop long before. In doing so, such intellectuals explicitly rejected the political and institutional version of nationhood espoused by elites: identity debates had thus come full circle.

A museum that focused on the natural produce of Chile's vast territory allowed little space for humans in its exhibition. During his explorations Claude Gay collected hundreds of objects belonging to indigenous cultures but they appear to have been kept mainly in storerooms rather than put on public display.⁴⁸ It was not until the early-twentieth century that the museum started to show more interest in organising a permanent display on Chile's human history. By 1918 the museum had amassed over four thousand artefacts pertaining to indigenous populations and the same year the section on 'Anthropology, Archaeology and Ethnography' was given its own management team under the leadership of anthropologist Leotardo Matus.⁴⁹ Such changes were suggestive of the growing influence of anthropology during the 1910s. Indeed, it was museums that first sought to institutionalise anthropology in Chile: as discussed in Chapters One and Two, it was not until several decades later that universities and schools officially incorporated the subject into their institutional fabric.

⁴⁸ 'Las ciencias Antropológicas en el Museo Nacional de Historia Natural', *Noticiario Mensual* 56 (March 1961).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

Due to the fragmentary nature of documents relating to past exhibitions, it is difficult to determine when and to what extent indigenous peoples were included. Most evidence suggests, however, that indigenous peoples only gained a significant presence once Ricardo Latcham (a British-educated anthropologist who undertook many studies of Mapuche culture) became director in 1928.⁵⁰ Following the earthquake which partly destroyed the building in 1927, Latcham was able to make major renovations to the museum's anthropological section; he also dramatically increased its collection.⁵¹ In 1936, funds from the Consejo Nacional de Turismo [National Tourism Council] allowed for the inauguration of an 'Araucanian Room', in which a life-size *ruka* (the traditional rural dwelling of the Mapuche) was built by Mapuche men brought in from the south.⁵² In this way, Mapuche culture became a visible part of the museum and was thus incorporated into its interpretation of national identity based on land and nature. The natural landscape had been populated. By being included only as part of nature, however, Mapuche people were rendered voiceless and denied a role in the social and political history of the country, their culture rendered static, like a stuffed animal or display of mineral rocks.

In 1964 Austrian anthropologist Grete Mostny was invited by the recently installed Christian Democrat government to become director of the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural. It was about this time, having already written extensively on the pre-Columbian cultures of Chile,⁵³ that she began to dedicate more time to the study of Mapuche history and society. In *Prehistoria de Chile* Mostny described how much she admired the Mapuche people's determination to maintain a visible presence in contemporary Chile.⁵⁴ It was perhaps no coincidence that she had spent much time in the company of scholars such as Alejandro Lipschutz. Indeed,

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Grete Mostny, 'El Museo Nacional de la Historia Natural, 1830-1980', *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Historia Natural* 37 (1980), pp. 5-7.

⁵² 'Las ciencias Antropológicas ...', op. cit. The *Noticiero Mensual* also mentioned that there was a *machi* (a spiritual healer) sat next to a *rewe* (a wooden structure linking the natural and spiritual worlds), although it gave no clues as to whether this was a real person on display or a replica model.

⁵³ Grete Mostny, *Culturas Precolombinas de Chile* (Santiago: Editorial del Pacífico S.A., 1954).

⁵⁴ "With the exception of Araucanía", she said, "where a brave people has put up a fierce resistance and asserted their right to survival, those ancient men that forged Chilean pre-history have disappeared forever." See Mostny, *Prehistoria de Chile* (Santiago: Universitaria, 1971), p. 180.

Lipschutz and Mostny were involved in several research projects together.⁵⁵ According to people who worked with her, Mostny's aim was for the museum to bring Mapuche culture alive, especially for children.⁵⁶ She was responsible for the renovation and re-inauguration of the 'Araucanian Room' in 1969, making it more interactive and accessible for visitors: children, for instance, were allowed to play in the *ruka* and touch the objects on display.⁵⁷ Mostny therefore made many improvements to the museum. Indeed, she was possibly one of the first people in Chile to implement the new discourse of the International Council of Museums and promote the museum as an integral part of society. It was within this context, for example, that she also established the *Juventudes Científicas de Chile*, a programme designed for school students, encouraging them to carry out research projects in conjunction with the museum, using its facilities and consulting its staff.⁵⁸

Despite having many positive consequences – more participation, more interaction, more stimulation for children – Mostny's innovations did little to change the way in which the Mapuche were viewed vis à vis definitions of nationhood in twentieth century Chile. The museum was seen to be “saving” a part of Chile's past, conserving something of a people on the verge of extinction. It clung on to past traditions, making no effort to link them to contemporary society. Moreover, Mapuche communities were reduced to mere objects of study. As indicated by the large number and long life span of the academic journals it has produced, the main focus of the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural has always been scientific research. Historically it has received most of its funding for such research, not for public exhibitions. In this context, Mapuche society was studied for its weavings, cemeteries and ritual ceremonies, but such investigations sidelined the fact that all these “traditions” had changed over time. It was also the case that they never

⁵⁵ In the 1940s they worked together on a research project in southern Chile, investigating the way of life and physical characteristics of the region's remaining Yamana communities. See Alexander Lipschutz, Grete Mostny, Hans Helfritz, Fidel Jeldes and Margaret Lipschutz, 'Physical Characteristics of Fuegians', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 5: 3 (1946), pp. 295-322.

⁵⁶ Interview, Teresa Varas, Museo Histórico Nacional, Santiago, 7th March 2003.

⁵⁷ Julio Montané, 'Sala de Prehistoria Chilena', *Noticiario Mensual* 158 (1970), p. 7. During the interview cited above, Teresa Varas confirmed that Mostny was responsible for such projects.

included Mapuche viewpoints on the meaning of their own cultural production. In this, however, the museum and Mostny's work merely reflected the state of the anthropological discipline at the time. U.S.-based anthropologists Milan Stuchlik and Mischa Titiev, doing fieldwork in Chile during the 1950s-1970s, claimed Mapuche culture to be irrevocably doomed and thus dismissed this people's ability to survive through change.⁵⁹ Indeed, anthropologists throughout the world seemed to envisage their work as a salvage mission to collect as much information as they could about native peoples before they disappeared.⁶⁰ The increased Mapuche/indigenous presence in the museum (articulated via this anthropological discourse) and the changes made regarding visitors' participation consequently had little impact on the underlying message conveyed by the museum. Mapuche society was portrayed as monolithic and static, intimately linked to the natural world, and excluded from the complex processes of historical change.

Hence, reductionist portrayals of Mapuche culture can be attributed to the state of the anthropological sciences (until the 1980s) as well as to the popular discourses of national identity emergent in the 1930s and present throughout the twentieth century. The museum's representations of the Mapuche were also defined within the parameters of its institutional identity. It was, after all, a natural history museum, the exhibits of which have tended to disregard the history of culture and society. Human agents' specific goals and intentions were ignored, their persons and things transformed into an example of a universal natural history. It was indicative of their stereotype as "natural beings" that the museum chose to include Mapuche people, rather than non-indigenous Chileans, in its national narrative. Today the museum continues to promote the importance of natural geography in the creation of a

⁵⁸ Mauricio Masonne, 'Museología chilena: Una perspectiva del análisis en el tiempo', *Museos* 12 (April 1992).

⁵⁹ Milan Stuchlik, *Life on a Half-Share: Mechanisms of Social Recruitment among the Mapuche of Chile* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1976); Mischa Titiev, *Araucanian Culture in Transition* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1951).

⁶⁰ See James Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds.), *Writing Culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

national identity, its web site inviting us to visit the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural and find out “how nature forges a fatherland.”⁶¹

El Museo Regional de la Araucanía

The Museo Araucano de Temuco, as it was originally called, was created by state decree on 12th March 1940 and Carlos Oliver Schneider, a university lecturer from Concepción – although of Uruguayan/German parentage – was drafted in to organise its first exhibition.⁶² According to Frederick Pike, Schneider was one of the country’s few “pro-Indian” academics: his *Los indios de Chile* (1932) had made the case that Indians might not be, as was so often assumed, hopelessly degenerate and racially inferior, and that they could be successfully integrated into the nation via education.⁶³ (It is perhaps telling that Schneider was not of Chilean descent: did this make it easier for him to appreciate Chile’s indigenous roots? As already shown, it was an Austrian’s interest in indigenous cultures which made a difference to the exhibition at the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural.) The museum’s first publication, authored by Schneider, noted how there had been a longstanding interest in creating an institution dedicated to the study of Araucanian society. As early as 1908, Chilean academic Tomás Guevara had urged the founding of a museum in Temuco, hoping to expand the local residents’ and visiting tourists’ knowledge of Araucanian culture.⁶⁴ By the 1930s, Mapuche political organisations such as the Sociedad Caupolicán were also demanding the protection of Mapuche cultural heritage through such institutions.⁶⁵ The state, however, did not respond to these demands until the presidency of Pedro Aguirre Cerda (1938-1941).

⁶¹ www.mnhn.cl [accessed November 2005]

⁶² José de Mayo L., ‘El Prof. Oliver Schneider y el Museo Araucano’, *El Diario Austral* (1940). It was difficult to decipher the exact date of this article due to it having faded. It was found in the museum’s archive with numerous other newspaper articles. The museum’s name was changed to Museo Regional de la Araucanía in 1980.

⁶³ Frederick Pike, ‘Aspects of Class Relations in Chile, 1850-1960’, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 43 (February 1963), p. 31.

⁶⁴ Schneider referred to a speech given by Guevara at the First Pan-American Scientific Congress in Santiago. See Carlos Oliver Schneider, *El Museo Araucano de Temuco* (Temuco: Ediciones Arauco, 1941), p. 13.

⁶⁵ Rolf Foerster and Sonia Montecino, *Organizaciones, Líderes y Contiendas Mapuches, 1900-1970* (Santiago: Ediciones CEM, 1988), p. 38.

The creation of the Museo Araucano de Temuco was indicative of his Popular Front government's attempts to promote a more popular, inclusive discourse of *chilenidad*. For middle-class reformists Chilean nationhood was no longer to be based on the political elite, but instead on the worker, the *huaso* [traditional horseman] and the Chilean countryside. This identity discourse was officially endorsed in the *Plan de Chilenidad* (1941), which aimed to stimulate "Chilean-ness" in the classroom through the teaching of folklore and local music traditions.⁶⁶ Aguirre Cerda also seemed willing to move away from the centralist tendencies hitherto characteristic of the Chilean state, endorsing people's local or regional (as well as national) identifications and loyalties.⁶⁷

According to Schneider, one of the museum's main objectives was to disseminate the "spirit of Chilean nationality" and to encourage a sense of belonging (among local visitors at least) to the "frontier zone".⁶⁸ That a museum dedicated to the study of Araucanian archaeology and ethnography was now perceived as a vehicle for the expression of Chilean nationality was testimony to the space opened up for indigenous peoples by an increased interest in folklore and the "traditional" countryside. As with the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, though, the idea that Mapuche people had a special relationship with the land predominated and, in consequence, their culture and society were depicted as intrinsically rural. Indeed, the entire first section of Temuco's Museo Araucano focused on the flora and fauna of the region.

The exhibition and studies carried out by museum staff also prioritised local Mapuche communities' remote past rather than their contemporary reality. Most of Schneider's own research and archaeological excavations, which contributed many items to the museum's collection, had focused on the pre-Hispanic period.⁶⁹ To a

⁶⁶ Patrick Barr-Melej, *Reforming Chile: Cultural Politics, Nationalism and the Rise of the Middle Classes* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), p. 208.

⁶⁷ Ignacio Sosa, *Conciencia y Proyecto Nacional en Chile 1891-1973* (Mexico D.F.: Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos, 1981), p. 142.

⁶⁸ Schneider, *El Museo Araucano*, p. 21.

⁶⁹ Interview with Schneider, *Diario Austral*, op. cit.

certain extent, such a preoccupation with indigenous peoples' past was symptomatic of the growing influence of *indigenismo*, a movement which had gained continental presence by the time the Museo Araucano de Temuco was created. (The First Inter-American Indigenista Congress was held in Mexico in 1940.) As noted previously, Chile did not have an *indigenista* tradition comparable to that of Peru and Mexico, but cultural institutions, such as this museum, attested to Chilean intellectuals' and even the Chilean state's engagement with *indigenista* debates. The principal objective of the Popular Front government was, after all, the economic and cultural integration of national society, and population censuses attested to the fact that Mapuche people represented a substantial proportion of society in southern Chile.

The museum's original name implies that Mapuche culture should have been its main concern, yet the first section of the exhibition, as already noted, focused on the area's flora and fauna, and the third section was dedicated to the history of Chilean domination in the region. The Popular Front's efforts to popularise or democratise Chilean national identity were thus limited as regards its inclusion of Mapuche people. They were presented as intimately linked to nature and disconnected from contemporary society, and one of the over-riding objectives of the museum was to exalt the military occupation (and "civilisation") of Araucanía. Again, though, a narrative that glorified indigenous people's past whilst ignoring their relevance to the present, was not so divergent from the official *indigenista* discourses and policies of other Latin American governments at the time.⁷⁰

Local newspaper reports suggest that by the 1960s the museum was more willing to acknowledge the contemporary presence of Mapuche culture in Araucanía. In January 1964 the weekly publication *Gong* ran an article condemning the "notorious lack of interest" demonstrated by mainstream Chilean society towards Mapuche culture, and praising the work being done by the museum to try to combat such lack

⁷⁰ See, for example, David Brading, 'Manuel Gamio and official indigenismo in Mexico', *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 7 (1988), pp. 75-89.

of interest.⁷¹ Further on, its author railed against the eternal centralism of the Chilean government, complaining that the museum received no funding because it was seven hundred kilometres from Santiago. Although it was “the only example of its kind on the continent [because it worked] with a living culture that still [had] contemporary expressions”, Santiago authorities showed no signs of interest in its development.⁷² In 1965 *El Diario Austral* printed an extensive piece on the museum (in commemoration of the latter’s twenty-fifth anniversary), applauding its efforts to teach visitors about the “real” and “dynamic” aspects of Mapuche history.⁷³ The palpable presence of Mapuche culture and history in Temuco was, after all, the main reason visitors came to the region, it said. Finally, a 1967 publication by the museum’s curator, Eduardo Pino Zapata, criticised the way in which school textbooks always failed to consider the Mapuche as a people in their own right. Contesting dominant national narratives, he rejected the romantic warrior image of the Mapuche and stated categorically: “Like it or not, here they are today, the Mapuche (the people of the land) imposing themselves as a people with a well-defined culture, zealously protecting their traditions.”⁷⁴ The stance taken by the museum curator and local newspapers thus asserted the positive work being done by the museum, despite the lack of support received from central government.

Countering such optimistic views were those of French museum specialist Yvonne Oddon who visited the Museo Araucano de Temuco in 1970 as part of a UNESCO research project.⁷⁵ She claimed that the past was well represented by the exhibition but that the present was almost non-existent. The museum, she said, displayed and hence communicated only a fraction of the “important culture of this ethnic group”, and from what she could understand of the local Mapuche communities, “they resist

⁷¹ ‘El Museo Araucano es único en América pero está muriendo por falta de recursos’, *GONG* (9th January 1964).

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *El Diario Austral* (10th March 1965).

⁷⁴ Eduardo Pino Zapata, *Reportaje al Museo a los Araucanos y a la Región de la Frontera* (Temuco: Museo Araucano, 1967).

⁷⁵ The newspaper did not give any details about Oddon’s background, but Internet sources suggest that she was a very prominent figure in the museum world. In 1937 she founded the library of the Musée de l’Homme, in Paris, and in 1946 she was put in charge of the International Council of Museum’s documentation centre. See www.germe.info/dossier/expo3945/outils/bio/oddon.htm.

being reduced to mere vestiges of the past [as they are] in this museum”.⁷⁶ Yet, when the museum was threatened with closure, the same year, it was local Mapuche leaders who mobilised to defend it. Regional newspapers reported the formation of an Araucanian Museum Defence Committee.⁷⁷ One article recounted how “the Mapuche [had] been the first to go out on to the battlefield to defend the museum, a problem which affects them directly as it comes down to the protection of their treasures and relics.”⁷⁸ Mapuche representatives even travelled to Santiago to protest about the desperate situation of the museum to central government authorities.⁷⁹ They also demanded that state officials attend the Defence Committee’s meetings in Temuco.⁸⁰

Such events demonstrate that the museum had, by the 1970s, incorporated Mapuche culture and history as an important part of its exhibition, or at least that a number of local Mapuche felt that their cultural heritage was protected and valued by such an institution. The episode also shows that the government was prepared to listen to local Mapuche representatives and enter into dialogue with them about the future of the museum. Not coincidentally, this was a time of increasing political mobilisation of Mapuche communities in the area: thousands of people attended the Second Mapuche Congress held in Temuco in 1970. During the same year increasing numbers of Mapuche farmers were involved in illegal land seizures in the region, forcing Allende to radicalise the agrarian reform programme he inherited from Frei.⁸¹ If local Mapuche communities had perceived the museum only as a prejudiced colonial institution, which folkloricised their culture and relegated them to the past, one presumes they would have mobilised *against* it. The fact that many

⁷⁶ ‘El Museo Araucano visto por los ojos de un extranjero’, *Diario Austral* (19th September 1970).

⁷⁷ ‘Formado Comité Defensor de Museo Araucano’, *El Diario Austral* (12th February 1970).

⁷⁸ *Gong* (13th February 1970).

⁷⁹ *Gong* reported that an interview had been arranged with the President of the Republic for the 9th April 1970. See ‘Campaña pro-defensa del Museo Araucano’, *Gong* (2nd April 1970). In addition, *El Diario Austral* mentioned a meeting between the Sociedad de Amigos del Museo Araucano and the Minister of Education (9th April 1970).

⁸⁰ ‘El próximo sábado: dos ministros de estado a asamblea en el museo’, *El Diario Austral* (29th September 1970).

⁸¹ Kyle Steenland, *Agrarian Reform under Allende: Peasant Revolt in the South* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977).

local Mapuche actively campaigned to ensure its survival suggests that they did not see the Museo Araucano de Temuco in these terms at all.

El Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino

This private institution offers an interesting contrast to the three museums discussed above. It was created in 1981 as a joint project between Sergio Larraín García Moreno, who donated his own collection of pre-Columbian art, and the Municipalidad de Santiago [Santiago City Council]. While there had been several attempts to set up a national anthropology museum, the Chilean state never actually sponsored a museum on pre-Columbian art. The founder of the museum approached various state entities to help protect and conserve his collection of pre-Columbian art, but was constantly frustrated by negative replies until he contacted the Municipalidad de Santiago. Although the latter was part of the state apparatus, the founding of the Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino is best understood as a private initiative: the state was given a role to play – at local council level – but the museum was not a central state project.

The main objective of the museum was to teach visitors about the artistic legacy of Latin America's pre-Columbian cultures, exalting the ethnic identity of the region and inserting Chile into that tradition. It also promoted a trans-national identity, having been founded upon the idea that national boundaries were relatively recent constructions that were irrelevant or obsolete to pre-Columbian peoples.⁸² The focus on art was particularly innovative at a time when many institutions still reduced indigenous peoples' cultural production to handicrafts or *artesanía*. Items were chosen not on the basis of what they told visitors about Indians' supposed "savagery", their poverty or their "backwardness" but rather on aesthetic grounds; the objects on display called visitors' attention to the beauty and cultural riches of indigenous traditions. Perhaps more significantly, the creation of such a museum

⁸² The museum's web site recounts: "It was a pioneering initiative within Latin America to create an institution which would protect, study and publicise the artistic legacy of all the pre-Columbian peoples of Latin America, ignoring the political frontiers that now divide our countries." See www.museoprecolombino.cl.

illustrated that indigenous cultures were no longer the sole preserve of anthropological, ethnographical or archaeological exhibitions.⁸³ In this sense, Chile was not so much inserting itself into a Latin American tradition as assuming a pioneering role in promoting pre-Columbian art, for it was the first country in the region to create a museum dedicated entirely to this theme.

Thus, while the creation of the Museo Histórico Nacional, the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural and the Museo Regional de la Araucanía reflected state ideologies of nation building at the time, it would seem – at least initially – that this museum did the opposite. It sought to promote a transnational identity during a period when the country was being ruled by of a fervently nationalistic military government. It made Chile part of Latin America's indigenous tradition at a time when Pinochet's regime publicly declared there to be no Indians left in Chile and constantly reasserted the country's link to western Christian "civilisation". One assumes that the Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino was only able to develop such counter-hegemonic identity discourses because it was free of government control. However, while the creation of such a museum was a private initiative, it is important to note that it was not blocked by the central state.

According to the museum's current director Carlos Aldunate de Solar, the military government showed very little interest in the exhibition when it opened in the early 1980s.⁸⁴ It therefore seems possible that efforts to promote Chile's connection to the rest of Latin America through displays of pre-Columbian art went unnoticed. It was also the case that the museum's endeavours had been widely acclaimed by foreign newspapers and magazines. (Still in the early 2000s it is the first port of call for many European and North American tourists arriving in Santiago.) A dictatorship whose human rights policy faced much criticism from abroad warmly welcomed any positive press. However, it could be argued that the original exhibition did not actually challenge official identity discourses at all. After all, the emphasis was on

⁸³ *América Precolombina en el Arte* (Santiago: Museo Chile de Arte Precolombino, 1997).

⁸⁴ Interview, Carlos Aldunate, Chilean Museum of Pre-Columbian Art, Santiago, 26th December 2002.

the pre-Columbian past, not indigenous cultures of the present. Moreover, by focusing on a Latin American tradition and a transnational identity the museum was eliding the issue of the Mapuche within Chile. Indeed, according to the museum's catalogue of 1982, the original exhibition failed to include any Mapuche art, concentrating instead on the "great civilisations" such as the Incas and Aztecs.

It was a donation of silver jewellery by Jacobo Furman that caused the museum to organise a temporary exhibition called "*Mapuche!*" in 1984-1985.⁸⁵ This exhibition also included ceramic and stone objects from Mapuche cemeteries, Mapuche weavings, ponchos, musical instruments and *chemamull* [wooden statues]. Some of these items were eventually included in the permanent exhibition of the Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, although it is difficult to establish precisely which year this happened.⁸⁶ Mapuche culture was thus incorporated into the museum but not as part of its founding objective, which was to disseminate the artistic legacy of pre-Columbian peoples. While several pieces of Mapuche art were included, the temporary exhibition was more anthropological and ethnographical than artistic in orientation; it described the cultural customs behind the objects as well as highlighting their aesthetic value. Furthermore, Mapuche society – as presented in the museum – was emphatically post-Columbian: its display focused on the intercultural reality of the Mapuche since the arrival of the Spanish. In this way, the museum brought Mapuche communities into Chile's modern history. The introduction to the brochure accompanying the exhibition "*Mapuche!*" described how "this people's own institutions [had] remained in force despite the disintegrative contact with dominant society."⁸⁷ As envisaged here, Mapuche culture was still very present in 1980s Chile. More importantly, the brochure explicitly stated that the Mapuche formed "an integral part of our nationality" and thus recognised Mapuche presence within the Chilean nation but as a culturally and

⁸⁵ *Plateria Araucana* (Santiago: Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, 1983).

⁸⁶ Changes made to the exhibition in 1997 involved a concerted effort to include a larger display on Mapuche culture and the catalogue of 1997 (op. cit.) demonstrated that this had indeed occurred. Prior to 1997 Mapuche culture and art were only mentioned in regard to temporary exhibitions at the museum or those exhibitions taken abroad, such as 'Mapuche: Seeds of the Chilean Soul', which travelled to Philadelphia in 1992.

ethnically different people. The historical process of *mestizaje* had not resulted in their disappearance. Indeed, according to the brochure, Chileans should be proud to live in a society in which there was such an enduring presence of indigenous cultures.

How very different this was to the representations of the Mapuche found in the Museo Histórico Nacional during the same period. Perhaps the divergent approach should not come as a surprise: the Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino was a private institution, the Museo Histórico Nacional a state institution – the most conservative of the museums investigated in this chapter and the one in which the government has most actively intervened. More remarkable was the fact that the brochure associated with the “*Mapuche!*” exhibition was transformed into a book entitled ‘Mapuche Culture’, published in conjunction with the Ministry of Education in the mid 1980s. Hence, the same government that often denied indigenous peoples’ existence in contemporary Chile also endorsed a text that underlined the continuing autonomy of Mapuche culture and society.

El Museo Mapuche de Cañete

The most innovative of all five museums, particularly in recent years, has been the Museo Mapuche de Cañete. That it was this museum which developed a novel approach to the “Mapuche question” suggests that state management does not automatically lead to the suppression of debate, as is implied in the comparison above between the Museo Histórico Nacional and the Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino. Or, looked at from another angle, it may be symptomatic of the greater scope available for debate at regional (as opposed to national) level, especially when the debate is relevant to the local population. The Museo Mapuche de Cañete was created in 1968, coinciding with a period of escalating violence between Mapuche political activists and security forces in the southern regions (in the context of frustrated agrarian reform) and a notable resurgence of Mapuche cultural identity in Chilean society more generally. With a high proportion of

⁸⁷ *Mapuche!* (Santiago: Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, 1985), p. 5.

Mapuche inhabitants and many “radicalised” communities, Cañete found itself at the heart of such transformations. Frei Montalva’s Christian Democrat government refused to acknowledge Mapuche organisations’ political demands – several Mapuche were killed as a result of confrontations with the police – but the decision to create a Mapuche museum demonstrated that the government was at least prepared to endorse the revitalisation of Mapuche culture.

According to the official literature, the museum’s main objective was to render homage to Chile’s Mapuche community, by protecting, exhibiting and diffusing its cultural heritage.⁸⁸ In a letter to state authorities in 1971 the director of the museum, Fernando Brousse Soto, went as far as to say that the museum was of “transcendental importance” for the Mapuche people.⁸⁹ Correspondence from the early years also attested to the director’s efforts to gather as much documentation as possible on Mapuche culture, history and politics for the museum’s library.⁹⁰ Additionally, events organised by museum staff indicated their awareness of the museum’s need to both involve and serve the local community. Such events included presentations in local schools and colleges in the area, as well as trips out to nearby Mapuche communities.⁹¹ In all these respects, the Museo Mapuche de Cañete enthusiastically embraced the International Council of Museums’ recently modified definition of the museum as an integral part of the society to which it belonged.

Even a quick glance at parliamentary documents relating to the creation of the museum, however, reveals that concerns for the local Mapuche community and its cultural survival were of little significance in this initiative. When Señor Laemmermand (as *diputado* for Cañete) presented the project to Congress in 1966 objectives such as the protection and diffusion of Mapuche culture were not

⁸⁸ Gloria Cardenas Troncoso and Irene González Pérez, ‘Conozcamos a Nuestros Museos: Museo Mapuche de Cañete’, *Museos* 11 (December 1991), p. 24.

⁸⁹ Letter from Fernando Brousse Soto (Dir.) to Antonio Millape of the *Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas*, Temuco, 3rd February 1971. Archivo del Museo Mapuche de Cañete, ‘Oficios Despachados’ (1971).

⁹⁰ In the same letter cited above Brousse Soto requested a copy of documents pertaining to the Mapuche Congress held in Temuco in 1970.

mentioned at all.⁹² Emphasis was instead placed on honouring the memory of deceased president Juan Antonio Ríos Morales. The construction of a museum in Ríos's memory was, in senator Castro's words, the perfect expression of national gratitude for the life and work of "el huaso chileno de la frontera" ("horseman of the frontier").⁹³ The ex-president was not Mapuche but he had been born in Cañete and his family was to donate the land for the museum.

Furthermore, letters from Brousse Soto to DIBAM in 1971 suggest that the Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas (DAI) had not known about the creation of a Mapuche museum in Cañete. "Señor Colompil [head of the DAI]", he wrote, "acted as if he had no idea about the Law No. 16.750 [which created the museum], nor about the work carried out by this institution".⁹⁴ It was not so much that the DAI had not been consulted: I have found no evidence to suggest that it made such complaints. It was more a case of Brousse Soto being frustrated about the lack of communication and co-operation between the two entities. (This, he hoped, would soon change as Señor Colompil had been "mightily impressed" by the museum's endeavours and had "promised collaboration in future projects".)⁹⁵ Of how much "transcendental importance" could the museum have been to indigenous communities if the state department responsible for the latter's well being (which was located nearby in Temuco) was unaware of its existence? More pertinently, local communities themselves were not involved in the initiative to create the museum nor were they consulted about the design or content of its original exhibition.⁹⁶ Nonetheless, that a museum dedicated to Mapuche culture should be

⁹¹ 'Actual situación del museo y necesidades para su normal desarrollo durante el presente año', 26th September 1971. Archivo del Museo Mapuche de Cañete, 'Oficios despachados', (1971).

⁹² Archivo del Congreso Nacional, *Boletín de Sesiones de la Cámara de Diputados*, Sesiones Extraordinarias, Tomo II (28th June 1966), pp. 1317-1346.

⁹³ Archivo del Congreso Nacional, *Boletín de Sesiones del Senado*, Sesiones Ordinarias, Tomo IV (7th September 1967), pp. 2632-2635.

⁹⁴ Letter dated 8th February 1971. Archivo del Museo Mapuche de Cañete, 'Oficios Despachados' (1971).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ In 2001 the 'Agrupación de amigos del museo de Cañete' still had no Mapuche members. As the museum's new director Juana Paillalef said, it was an institution validated by the national community but not by local Mapuche communities. See Carolina Maillard M., Juan Carlos Mege B. and Paula Palacios R., *Museos y Comunidad* (Santiago: Ediciones LOM, 2002), p. 57 and p. 79.

chosen (instead of anything else) to commemorate the life of a Chilean president indicates an official willingness to recognise the Mapuche as a fundamental part of the nation.

To an extent, then, the museum helped to incorporate Mapuche culture into the Chilean national narrative, but the question remains: in what capacity? Judging from the museum's own journal (*Boletín del Museo Mapuche de Cañete*), by 2003 the permanent exhibition had changed very little since it was installed in its permanent home in 1977.⁹⁷ As with the Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, the museum in Cañete testifies to the richness of Mapuche cultural traditions. This is particularly the case in the second part of the exhibition: visitors can read about the uniqueness of Mapuche funerary rites; the beauty of their textile weavings; the variety of their agricultural instruments; and the range of their sporting activities. By educating people about these elements of Mapuche culture, the museum seeks to deny the stereotypes – propagated by historians such as Encina and Eyzaguirre – of this people as backward, ignorant and uncivilised.

All this said, however, the museum's representation of Mapuche culture and society is problematic in several ways. Firstly, texts accompanying the displays are written almost entirely in the past tense. Visitors can learn about the herbs *smoked* by the Mapuche, the ritual ceremonies in which they *participated*, the colour dyes they *used* for their clothing and so forth. The texts make no reference to a specific period so the visitor is not to know whether the item on display dates from the sixteenth, nineteenth or even twentieth century. More significantly, there is nothing to link the display (its objects and their significance) to Mapuche people in Chile today. Similarly, visitors pass by instruments used for weaving, where there is a great deal of interesting information, but they are not told when Mapuche people did what,

⁹⁷ Hector Zumaeta, 'La exhibición permanente del Museo Mapuche de Cañete', *Boletín del Museo Mapuche de Cañete* 1 (1985), pp. 11-18. Zumaeta's account emphasised the similarities between the exhibition of 1985 and 1977. From the descriptions and photographs provided by the author, it was also possible to ascertain that few changes had been made to the permanent exhibition by 2003 (the date of my last visit). I go on to talk about the exhibition in the present tense because, as I note later in the text, the current director has still not managed to implement any major changes to its displays.

how textile production developed over time, or whether they still use the same techniques today. In this way, the Mapuche are still presented as part of Chile's past but not its present or its future. In addition, the museum conveys the sense that Mapuche culture has remained the same since time immemorial. Ignoring important changes, such as the process of mass urbanisation that began in the 1930s, the museum presents Mapuche society as lacking in internal dynamism and isolated from external influences. To be sure, such reductionist approaches are hardly unique to the Mapuche in Chile, but rather reflect the way in which indigenous peoples haven traditionally been represented the world over.⁹⁸

The first section of the main exhibition refers to key periods in the past, which obviously justifies the use of the past tense. Visitors can read about the different theories as to the origins of the Mapuche people, the erection of Spanish military garrisons in Mapuche territory, the evolution in modes of transport used and the diaspora of Mapuche communities. However, there is little to link these together and over four hundred years of history are covered in a very small space, with no explanation as to why Mapuche transport changed, why their communities were uprooted and so forth. In short, the exhibition provides very little context to important episodes or occurrences in Mapuche history. This comes across most clearly in the garden outside where there is a life size, yet lifeless, *ruka* and a *rewe*. There is no text accompanying these exhibits; hence, unless accompanied by a guide, the visitor is left without any information as to their significance in Mapuche culture and history.

Directly related to their relegation to the past and the idea that Mapuche people live outside the flow of history, is the museum's tendency to represent them as a

⁹⁸ On museums' treatment of native peoples in Australia see Chris Healy, 'Histories and Collecting: Museums, Objects and Memories' in Kate Darian Smith and Paula Hamilton (eds.), *Memory and History in Twentieth-Century Australia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994); Lynette Russell, 'Bunjilaka Brooding', *Meanjin* 60: 4 (2001). On Africa see Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 'Objects of Ethnography' and Kenneth Hudson, 'How misleading does an ethnographical museum have to be?', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, *Exhibiting Cultures*, op. cit. On Canada see Valda Blundell, 'The Tourist and the Native' in Bruce Cox, Jacques Chevalier and Valda Blundell (eds.), *A Different*

homogenous united whole. In the section on religion and funerary rites there is no information about the divergent responses of Mapuche communities to other religions, despite one of the texts being written by a sixteenth-century priest. The influence of Catholicism (its adoption, rejection or syncretic incorporation into Mapuche religiosity) is largely ignored, as is the more recent impact of evangelical Protestantism.⁹⁹ By disregarding the eighty-percent of Mapuche that live in Chile's urban centres, the ruralist image of their society remains unchallenged. The exhibition also overlooks the question of language – the divisions between those Mapuche who speak only Mapuzungun, those who are bilingual and those who speak only Spanish. Visitors to the museum are told nothing about the internal diversity of Mapuche society, nothing about the tensions and dilemmas caused by these geographic, linguistic and religious rifts.

The museum exhibition also fails to deal with both the historical and the contemporary conflict between Mapuche political organisations and the Chilean state. That this conflict is not dwelt upon could have been foreseen, given official history's focus on compromise, consensus and reconciliation, but that it is not mentioned at all seems openly to deny the history of local Mapuche communities in the area. There is a notable discrepancy between the images found in the press and the story of peace and unproblematic integration propagated by the museum. The occupation campaigns (1860s –1880s) are mentioned in the first section of the exhibition, but in a rather off-hand way as if they were a preordained by-product of Chile's so-called "progress and modernisation". Moreover, there is no recognition of the violence and suffering involved. As José Bengoa explained: "[In order to reconcile our founding myth with the realities of massacre,] the dominant ideology

Drummer: Readings in Anthropology with a Canadian Perspective (Ottawa: Carlton University Anthropology Caucus, 1989).

⁹⁹ Insightful accounts of this phenomenon can be found in Roger Kellner, 'Christian Gods and Mapuche Witches: The Retention of Indigenous Concepts of Evil among Mapuche Pentecostals' (Amsterdam: CEDLA, 1993) and Rolf Foerster, *Introducción a la religiosidad mapuche* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1995).

was simple and efficient: it denied that the massacre ever occurred.”¹⁰⁰ The museum thus helps perpetuate Chile’s founding myths when many local Mapuche would assert quite a different story. (Pascual Coña, discussed in Chapter One, would be a well-known figure to many of them.)

Perhaps more revealing are the words following the poster-board display on the occupation campaigns: “The Chilean people are a homogeneous ethnic mass, created as much by aboriginal as Spanish blood.” Indigenous peoples are seen to have contributed to the creation of a Chilean nationality through *mestizaje* but ultimately they have disappeared within this homogenising process. The Mapuche from the second room of the exhibition (with their weaving designs, religious customs and sports such as *palin*) no longer exist. They have lost their distinctive “Indian-ness” and become assimilated into “Chilean-ness”, the only way in which the museum’s exhibition allows them to be incorporated into Chilean nationhood.

In one sense, then, the museum tells the story of the Mapuche’s inevitable and unproblematic assimilation into the Chilean nation. On the other hand, their “traditional” customs are exoticised and presented as completely isolated from Chilean society. This is most aptly demonstrated by the first quotation that visitors read as they enter the museum: “Arauco is eternal, (Chilean) foreigner come and learn about it, although you will never understand.”¹⁰¹ Arauco is essentialised as something so different, so “other” to Chilean-ness that Chileans cannot possibly comprehend it. Whether assimilated or isolated and relegated to the past, the Mapuche have been incorporated into the Chilean narrative but are at the same time marginalised within this construction. It seems, therefore, that the museum’s permanent exhibition has done very little to challenge dominant versions of Chilean national identity.

¹⁰⁰ José Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo mapuche* (Santiago: Ediciones Sur, 1985, p. 149. Translated by Stephen Lewis in ‘Myth and the History of Chile’s Araucanians’, *Radical History Review* (Winter 1994), p. 130.

In contrast, the *Boletín del Museo Mapuche de Cañete* has long since presented a more multi-layered, complex picture of Mapuche society, its internal dynamics, and the social and cultural changes experienced by local Mapuche communities. It has included viewpoints of local Mapuche people.¹⁰² It has also engaged with broader theoretical debates on cultural relativism and the implications such approaches have for the position and recognition of Mapuche culture within Chilean society.¹⁰³ The museum's journal thereby incorporates debates and historical perspectives that are noticeably absent from the narrative encountered in its exhibition rooms. Guides also help to open up the museum's narrative: they can use the exhibition to tell a variety of different stories, a point best illustrated by the *rewe* and *ruka* set up outside the museum. With no labels or instructions available, guides are free to explain the significance of such objects according to their own versions of history. They can invest the *rewe* and *ruka* with their own subjective interpretations of Mapuche culture and help bring them alive, particularly for children. (It is children, mainly from local schools, who make up the majority of this museum's visitors.) Significantly, the guides have often been Mapuche people from the surrounding area. The person who first built the *ruka* in 1983 was also a local Mapuche resident: Armando Marileo, who had worked in the museum, helping to preserve its collections, since 1974. So, he too had some input into the narrative provided by the museum, although the exhibition does not actually tell us so.¹⁰⁴

With the exception of Marileo and some guides, Mapuche participation in Cañete's museum seems to have been minimal. This problem was partly resolved when a Mapuche woman, Juana Paillalef, was appointed director of the museum in 2002. Such changes are illustrative of the Concertación's discourse of multiculturalism and its attempts to increase Mapuche participation in areas of public policy that directly

¹⁰¹ Staff at the museum in 2003 were unaware of the quotation's origins, although most thought it had been copied from somewhere else rather than invented by a director or curator of earlier years.

¹⁰² See for example, 'Recuerdos de Infancia de un Mapuche de la Provincia de Arauco', *Boletín del Museo Mapuche de Cañete* 3 (1987), pp. 9-12.

¹⁰³ Patricio F. Poblete Zúñiga, 'Elementos de Relativismo Cultural', *Boletín del Museo Mapuche de Cañete* 3 (1987), pp. 41-50.

affect them.¹⁰⁵ In theory, Mapuche participation should be increasing throughout public institutions, not just in the areas that directly affect them.¹⁰⁶ For the time being, however, such ideas remain on the drawing board. Apart from education, perhaps, where numbers of Mapuche students and teachers are continually increasing (and not only in conjunction with EIB projects), the official endorsement of Mapuche participation has not led to it becoming a reality. So, Paillalef is an exception to the rule but also representative of the fact that government discourse is at least sometimes transformed into practical changes. She is also emblematic of Mapuche efforts to reclaim more direct control over their people's cultural property. Campaigns organised in support of the Museo Regional de la Araucanía in the early 1970s show how Mapuche people have for a long time sought to protect their cultural heritage. Paillalef can now do this from the inside and, more importantly, as someone who has the power to make decisions.

Paillalef recently discussed the dilemmas she faced when deciding whether or not to accept the position as director of the Museo Mapuche de Cañete.¹⁰⁷ How could she work as part of a state apparatus that had notoriously racist ideological underpinnings and continually repressed her own people? Paillalef well understood the limits of working within a state institution but was also aware of the changing role being assumed by museums and their increasing willingness to debate conflicting histories and memories. Previously she had worked as an educational guide at the Museo Regional de la Araucanía, where she had been able to discuss many controversial issues with the director, such as the ethics of keeping mummified human remains in the museum. Paillalef won her case, securing the "repatriation" of these remains to a nearby Mapuche community.¹⁰⁸ Such

¹⁰⁴ Armando Marileo now works for the government's EIB programme and is part of the Directorio Regional (for the Bío Bío region) del Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes. See www.culturabiobio.cl.

¹⁰⁵ See Ximena Navarro (ed.), *Patrimonio Arquelógico Indígena de Chile: Reflexiones y Propuestas de Gestión* (Temuco: Ediciones Universidad de la Frontera, 1998).

¹⁰⁶ See 'Gobierno asume otro trato con etnias', *El Mercurio* (17th April 2004).

¹⁰⁷ Juana Paillalef, 'Revisar la multiculturalidad desde lo femenino y laboral', in Sonia Montecino (ed.), *Revisitando Chile: Identidades, Mitos y Historias* (Santiago: Cuadernos Bicentenario, 2003), pp. 371-374.

¹⁰⁸ Interview, Juana Paillalef, Museo Mapuche de Cañete, Cañete, 17th February 2003.

achievements are symbolic of a global shift in thinking about cultural heritage and who controls it. Indigenous groups around the world are trying to persuade museums to acknowledge that many of the objects in their collections are not in fact their “property”, but instead belong to the community or the individuals from which they were originally taken. This does not always result in such objects being returned but it has meant that museums are increasingly being forced into a dialogue with the community to ascertain how best to present the objects and the stories behind them.¹⁰⁹ Ultimately, Paillalef chose to accept the position as museum director because she believed in the possibility of dialogue between indigenous peoples and the state. She wanted to be part of this dialogue; she wanted to help construct a more multicultural society and to open up spaces for Mapuche people within it.¹¹⁰

From the outset, Paillalef made great efforts to bring local Mapuche people into the museum. Indeed, to a certain extent the museum now acts on behalf of Mapuche communities from the area, rather than simply representing their culture and history. Ritual ceremonies such as *nguillatún* (a fertility ritual that usually takes place before harvest to ask for a good crop) have been held in the grounds of the museum on several occasions, as have numerous educational events and political meetings in which local Mapuche people have participated.¹¹¹ In 2002, as part of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the museum’s move to its permanent home, Paillalef organised a large meeting of people from the region, including several Mapuche community leaders and local state officials.¹¹² They sat together at the front: a symbol, she said, of their equal authority and status. During the course of the meeting it was decided that the museum would petition the government for the right to change its name, removing the reference to Juan Antonio Ríos.¹¹³ (At the time of writing, in late 2005,

¹⁰⁹ Clifford detailed his own experience of such bargaining in Oregon’s ‘Portland Art Museum’. See ‘Museums as Contact Zones’ in *Routes, Travel and Translation*.

¹¹⁰ Paillalef, ‘Revisar la multiculturalidad...’, p. 373.

¹¹¹ *Nguillatunes* can also be convened to address other eventualities: to stop the ravages of nature or indeed the ravages of government development projects. See Sara McFall and Roberto Morales, ‘The Ins and Outs of Mapuche Culture in Chile’, in Anny Brooksbank Jones and Ronaldo Munck, *Cultural Politics in Latin America* (London: Macmillan, 2000).

¹¹² Interview, Juana Paillalef, 17th February 2003.

¹¹³ Most people refer to it simply as the Mapuche Museum of Cañete, as does much of the official literature. However, its full name is the Juan Antonio Ríos Morales Mapuche Museum of Cañete.

this petition is still in process. It has not been rejected by central authorities but neither has it been authorised because the law which created the museum in 1968 needs to be changed first: a revealing example of the cumbersome nature of state bureaucracies and the lengthy processes involved in even relatively minor changes.) As a result of such events, Paillalef was optimistic about opening up further spaces for participation within the museum. She was also confident about the museum's potential to expand the debate on the current situation of Chile's Mapuche community. Given the full conference programme organised by the museum since Paillalef became its director, it seems the potential has already become a reality.¹¹⁴

Paillalef has also been able to make a small number of changes to the exhibition. On my last visit to the museum there was a large display of photographs taken of Mapuche people, families and communities in the early twentieth century.¹¹⁵ At first these seemed to subscribe to the stereotypical images of indigenous peoples propagated at the time (as downtrodden, poor, passive victims of modernisation), yet the text that accompanied this display challenged visitors to rethink these images and to look at the photographs more critically. People were encouraged to assess the role of the photographer in creating these images; the narrative explained that they provided only one interpretation of Mapuche history and hinted that they conveyed more about the person behind the lens than they did about those in front of it. Another new addition was a set of drawings by Mapuche artist Santos Chavez, displayed in a separate room on the top floor of the museum. The presence of his artwork was demonstrative both of a growing official willingness to incorporate Mapuche individuals' perspectives on history and to recognise that the Mapuche were very much part of contemporary Chilean society.

¹¹⁴ In August 2004, for example, the museum organised a three-day conference on intercultural and bilingual education projects in conjunction with ARCIS University. In August 2005 it began a course on 'Public Management, Indigenous Peoples and Interculturality' for civil servants working in the eighth region and October it arranged several "jornadas de diálogo" with local Mapuche communities. People from seven different communities were invited to visit the exhibition, comment on the content of its displays and make suggestions for its future renovation. See www.dibam.cl/subdirec_museos/mm_canete.

¹¹⁵ Doris Kuhlmann Bade de Mooller donated the photographs to the museum, having inherited them from her grandparents in 1995. Andrea Rioseco Gomez, a photographer from Concepción, was responsible for their restoration and assembling the display.

With the exception of these temporary or minor additions, however, Paillalef has been unable to change the main exhibition. She is planning large-scale renovations to both the visual displays and the textual narrative, in order to bring the violent confrontations and poverty affecting local communities (i.e., the painful aspects of Mapuche/Chilean history) into the museum. She hopes to use the museum's exhibition to facilitate open discussion about this history, but this will require a substantial amount of funding from DIBAM as well as essential technical support. This will not be easy to come by given the financial shortages faced throughout the state sector, particularly with regard to cultural institutions. More importantly, state authorities will not give any funding without first approving the changes Paillalef plans to make. Indeed, official "experts" are likely to be involved in any changes she does get approved.

An intercultural dialogue?

Since the 1990s, there has been an increasing degree of Mapuche participation in all of the museums discussed in this chapter, not just the Museo Mapuche de Cañete, although it should be stressed that it is only here that a Mapuche person has been given a decision-making role. At the time of my last visit, Sara Chicahual, a Mapuche woman from Temuco, was working as an educational guide for the Museo Regional de la Araucanía. Chicahual believed she could turn the exhibition into a forum for debate even if the exhibition itself did not include opposing viewpoints. She valued her role as guide primarily because she felt it allowed her to help change the stereotypical images people (mainly children) had of Mapuche culture.¹¹⁶ Chicahual was also involved in one of the museum's temporary exhibitions called *Huellas en mi rostro* (2003): she helped translate the texts accompanying the displays of "Mapuche representations of human and animal figures" from Spanish into Mapuzungun. Included in the exhibition were poems of several Mapuche writers, namely Elicura Chihuailaf and Lionel Lienlaf (who will be discussed in the next chapter). In this way, the museum helped communicate their views to the public

¹¹⁶ Interview, Sara Chicahual, Museo Regional de la Araucanía, Temuco, 22nd January 2003.

– possibly people who would not have read their poetry – and it did so in their native language.

Mapuche participation in the Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino has been less direct but nonetheless points to the possibility of intercultural dialogue. One example of such participation is the audio-visual archive set up in the early 1990s under the supervision of Claudio Mercado. In 2003 it had approximately twenty videos on Mapuche culture, history and politics, which were often shown to the public at formal presentations in the museum as well as being rented out to schools, universities and individuals.¹¹⁷ Most of the videos were produced by Mapuche artists or by Chilean and Mapuche artists together and sought to subvert the stereotypical images of “Mapuche-ness”. The audience sees and hears *llonkgos* (community leaders) sharing their knowledge and life experience with the camera team, or watches dramatisations of Mapuche literature such as Pascual Coña’s memoirs (both the book and film were discussed in Chapter One). These films reproduce history from various Mapuche perspectives, from people in both rural and urban areas, who speak Spanish or Mapuzungun. Essentially, they testify to the complex situation of Mapuche people within Chilean society and are geared towards both Mapuche and non-Mapuche viewers, with the aim of stimulating communication between the two. Such endeavours have received much praise from Chilean newspapers and magazines, and many of their commentaries have focused on the videos’ success in opening up debates on ethnic identities in Chile.¹¹⁸

The Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino has also made important contributions to the diffusion of Mapuche literature. In 2002, for example, it produced a book called *Voces Mapuches* documenting the lives and viewpoints of seven Mapuche writers,

¹¹⁷ Newspaper articles provide evidence of many such presentations organised by the museum. During my stay in Chile I managed to go to several, all of which were well attended and finished with a lively debate on issues raised in the video.

¹¹⁸ ‘Una nación heterogénea’, *El Mercurio* (10th June 1997); ‘Chile antes de Chile: los otros padres de la patria’, *Paula* (2nd February 1998).

artists and community authorities.¹¹⁹ One of these was Leonel Lienlaf, who was also co-author of the book. In this way, the museum helped publicise Mapuche versions of history with the active participation of several Mapuche. Finally, it is worth mentioning one of the museum's most recent exhibitions, *Cuentos Animales* (2002-2003), which depicted different indigenous cultures' legendary tales about animals. The exhibition brought the stories alive using animal sounds in the background and moving images on the walls. The texts were all written in the present tense, one of which was authored by Mapuche poet Lorenzo Aillapán, otherwise known as the "Bird Man".

Like the Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural has only managed to secure indirect Mapuche participation. In 1998 staff working in the anthropological section travelled to rural communities in the south to speak to Mapuche women trained in traditional weaving techniques. They took photographs of the weavings held by the museum and gained valuable information about them, which could then be incorporated into the exhibition.¹²⁰ During the same year the museum held a set of workshops for a group of Mapuche children living in Santiago. They visited rural communities and then returned to the museum to talk through what they had learnt from the trip, relating it to what they saw in the museum exhibition.¹²¹ Despite such limited participation – or perhaps because of the debates that emerged as a result of such participation – one particularly significant change was made to the discourse of the museum in the late 1990s: the inclusion of the term "Mapuche nation". Miguel Angel Azócar, responsible for revising the script in the anthropological section, showed that the museum was prepared to take the debate of multiculturalism one step further, encouraging visitors to think in terms of a multinational Chilean state. As was the case with some of the educational material

¹¹⁹ Carlos Aldunate and Leonel Lienlaf (eds.), *Voces Mapuches* (Santiago: Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, 2002).

¹²⁰ Miguel Angel Azócar and Margarita Alvarado, 'Las colecciones arqueológicas/etnográficas y su documentación: un desafío para la colaboración cultural', in Ximena Navarro, *Patrimonio Arqueológico*, p. 141.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

discussed in Chapter Three, this openly contradicted the discourse of a “homogeneous unitary nation” endorsed by the Constitution.

The participation of Mapuche individuals has undoubtedly caused changes to the representation of their people’s culture and history in museums. They are certainly more visible. However, the question remains as to how far such changes add up to a redefinition of Mapuche people’s role in the nation – recognising them as historical subjects with a right to difference – or merely represent an appropriation of their culture and knowledge. The examples of Mapuche participation discussed above have rarely led to major transformations of a museum’s principal exhibition. Changes have instead mainly involved cultural events sponsored by museums, Mapuche intellectual and artistic work carried out in conjunction with museums, or the addition of specific objects to museums. With the exception of Juana Paillalef, Mapuche participation in museums has often entailed only a minor contributory role. Translating a text from Spanish to Mapuzungun is very different to writing the Spanish text in the first place and even when Mapuche poets have had their work included in an exhibition they have had no influence over the context in which their verses were presented.

Perhaps the most obvious limitation on the Chilean museum’s capacity to act as a forum for intercultural dialogue is the fact that it fails to deal fully with the occupation campaigns (1860s-1880s). None of the five museums studied have even begun to look at the complex history of conflict and collaboration behind the campaigns. All of them refer to it but not one debates the violence or the variety of Mapuche communities’ responses. Even in Temuco – where the last great rebellion took place in 1881 – the Museo Regional de la Araucanía presents this “pacification” as an inevitable part of the national project. Mapuche agency, according to the museum, was irrelevant to the process. The main protagonists were instead Orélie Antoine, a French man who proclaimed himself King of Araucania and Patagonia and who was eventually deported; Coronelio Saavedra, responsible for the first stages of the occupation; and General Urrutia, who concluded the

conquest. The text that follows, on the division of Mapuche communities into ‘reservations’, depicts a state merely trying to help and protect the Mapuche and their lands.¹²² Thus notions of Chilean “exceptionalism” – the idea that its institutions have developed in a peaceful and democratic way, promoting consensus over conflict – remain intact.

When such an important part of Mapuche/Chilean history (or at least its intricacies, its causes and its consequences, its diverse cast of actors) is excluded from museums, it seems unlikely that such an institution can in practice stimulate a far-reaching debate or help open up dominant conceptions of Chilean-ness. In more general terms, while Mapuche culture might have more presence in museum exhibitions, Mapuche perspectives on history have remained largely absent. Very few Mapuche sources are included in the museum exhibitions discussed here: the only example I found was the Mapuche poetry in the temporary exhibition at the Museo Regional de la Araucanía. Significantly, these were not poems that highlighted historical or political issues of contention, but instead talked of Mapuche communities’ reverence for their ancestors and the way in which so-called “traditional” Mapuche society functioned.

It could be argued that museums only incorporate those aspects of Mapuche culture that support the dominant interpretations of Chilean national identity, relegating this culture to the past, presenting it as essentially rural, or romanticising their traditions in a condescending, paternalistic fashion. In this sense, museums have recognised Chile’s multiculturalism, but not its interculturalism. The discourse of multiculturalism is evasive: it promotes pluralism, yet retains something of the logic of domination and assimilation, and like syncretism it fails to encapsulate the reality of unequal power relations. Interculturalism has more political connotations: it supposes a relationship, a meeting of different cultures, and allows for a more

¹²² The text on ‘El Proceso de Reducciones’, which has been in place since 1996, reads: “The Chilean state dealt with the issue of Mapuche territorial property by assigning them [...] areas called reservations. These encompassed extensive areas of land [...] and were supposed to remain

complex national narrative. Given the distinction between the two, it would seem that Chilean museums convey much of multicultural Chile but largely fail to engage in a truly intercultural dialogue. For this reason, many Mapuche people still see museums as colonising institutions, a way of the Chilean state appropriating their cultural heritage as well as their land, a different way of “possessing” them. There have been several attempts to create what is referred to as a ‘community museum’ – a museum in which local people can put together their own displays however they see fit – but Chile still had no such institution as of the late 1990s.¹²³ Hence the question, how can Mapuche collectives or individuals represent themselves within a cultural institution of the Chilean state that colonised their people? Yet, paradoxically, they can and they do participate in these state institutions, and often in order to fight against the state system.

Conclusion

The exhibitions of the five museums discussed in this chapter have frequently presented the Mapuche as “other” to Chilean-ness: backward and primitive, outside the flow of history or symbolic of a glorious (but distant) past. Some have perpetuated a highly conservative and elitist narrative, focusing on Chile’s Hispanic roots. An alternative popular version of *chilenidad* based on the country’s natural landscape has also emerged within these museums, although this too has its drawbacks as regards recognising the historical agency of and contemporary problems facing Chile’s Mapuche population. That anthropology (and its partner ethnography), were key to the elaboration of such discourses in museums says quite a lot in itself, for these disciplines were created in Europe to study and collect information on “other” foreign or remote peoples.¹²⁴ So, in many ways, Chilean museums seem to have reaffirmed a celebratory, consensual vision of national history, and excluded (urban, contemporary, political) Mapuche culture from their

undivided. A series of legal rules were designed to avoid the illegal expropriation of Mapuche lands, but these were not respected.”

¹²³ Lorenzo Aillapán, ‘Patrimonio mapuche no material: una reflexión acerca del wirin, el arte de escribir’, in Navarro (ed.), *Patrimonio Arqueológico*, pp. 83-85.

displays. Debates, when allowed to filter through to the exhibition, appear to have focused on social or political, not ethnic, conflict. There are exceptions, such as the natural history museum's use of the term "Mapuche nation", the pre-Columbian art museum's discussion of Mapuche communities' contemporary problems and the museum in Cañete's inclusion of Santos Chavez's work, but they are just that: exceptions or temporary amendments.

However, there is far more to a museum than its exhibition. Looking beyond this to a museum's journals, the film documentaries and books it has produced, its guides, the cultural and educational events it has sponsored, and the discussions it has triggered between Mapuche organisations and state authorities, a rather different picture emerges. This picture allows for the internal contradictions and inconsistencies of museums, and for a debate in which Mapuche people have been able to participate. Even DIBAM's publications recognise the dilemma inherent in the objectives of Chilean museums: to promote social cohesion and unity, yet also to be inclusive of the country's cultural and ethnic diversity.¹²⁵ The notion of museum as "forum", then, goes beyond the physical or visual confines of its exhibitions and has more to do with the conceptual and intellectual space that it provides. As illustrated above, Chilean museums have proved capable of granting this space and it is one that is constantly expanding and incorporating new actors and voices.

¹²⁴ Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other. How Anthropology makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture. Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

¹²⁵ See, for example, *Memoria, 1996-1998* (Santiago: DIBAM, 1999), p. 4.

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CHAPTER FOUR

Mapuche Poetry: Renegotiating Ethnic, National and Global Identities

"We were born Mapuche, we will die Mapuche and writing, my brothers, is one of the greatest ways to dignify our people, to keep and recover [...] by and for ourselves the soul of our people."
Elicura Chihuailaf.¹

Poetry is the most well known and widely accessible component of Mapuche artistic expression today. It is for this reason that the present thesis prioritises it over other forms of cultural production, such as painting or weaving, as an example of the (variety of) self-images projected by the Mapuche during the twentieth century. In its current written and bilingual form, mass-produced and internationally circulated, poetry represents a relatively new phenomenon within Mapuche culture. In fact, it is only realistic to talk of such a format since the late 1980s,² the beginning of a so-called "boom" in Mapuche poetry, which coincided with the return to democracy in Chile and a resurgence of indigenous testimonial literature throughout Latin America. As will be illustrated below, however, written Mapuche poetry dates back as least as far as the late nineteenth century. My work draws on several sources from this early period, tracing the development of indigenous literary creation through to the present day, but its main focus is the history of the reception of Mapuche poetry since the 1980s. According to Roland Barthes, every text is built out of a sense of its potential audience and includes an image of this audience.³ In this sense, the reception is a constitutive dimension of the work itself. Mapuche poets are no exception: they have produced their work in the expectation that it will be read by many Mapuche and non-Mapuche people.

¹ Elicura Chihuailaf, cited in Cecilia Vicuña, *Ul: Four Mapuche Poets* (Pittsburgh: Latin American Literary Review Press, 1998), p. 27.

² Cecilia Vicuña, *Ul: Four Mapuche Poets* (Pittsburgh: Latin American Literary Review Press), p. 17.

³ Roland Barthes, *Image, music, text* [Essays selected and translated by Stephen Heath] (London: Fontana, 1977).

The place of Mapuche writers in the Chilean literary canon is now widely accepted. If not always published in book form, their poetry is at least found in numerous anthologies as well as cultural reviews and literary journals across the country.⁴ It is the subject of a growing number of research projects and academic theses, and both local and national newspapers have demonstrated an interest in reviewing new publications and interviewing the authors about their work. Certain poets' work has recently appeared in officially authorised school texts as well as museum exhibitions.⁵ Mapuche poetry has also been promoted through public performances in regional and national universities.⁶ In addition, several Mapuche authors have won national literary awards, participated in conferences both in Chile and abroad, and received state funding for new projects. Finally, an ever increasing number of web sites dedicated to the study of indigenous literature and its translation into many foreign languages, including English, French, German, Hungarian, Italian and Swedish, has secured an international readership for Mapuche poetry.

An examination of the themes raised by the critical literature on Mapuche poetry, as well as the poets' responses to this criticism, allows for an insightful analysis of Mapuche identity debates. It soon becomes apparent, for example, that the writers (and Mapuche readers) have conflicting opinions about their people's relationship with Chilean nationhood. Because Mapuche poetry has been promoted, diffused and analysed by official literary institutions, one could argue that it is constantly in negotiation with the neo-colonialist structures that persist in Chile. In this sense, the same poetry also acts as a vehicle via which contesting meanings of "Chilean-ness" can be debated. Alongside an analysis of the historical development of Mapuche literary production, this chapter outlines the general framework of the debate about their poetry. As will be shown, the debate centres on the dilemma faced by – or

⁴ *Patrimonio Cultural* (Santiago), *Rocinante* (Santiago), *Revista Chilena de Literatura* (Santiago), *Simpson 7* (The Society of Chilean Writers, Santiago) and *Lengua y Literatura Mapuche* (Temuco).

⁵ See Carmen Colomer Salazar, Vivian Murua Arraya and Manuel Rubio Manriquez, *Lengua Castellana y Comunicación, Cuarto Año Medio* (Santiago: Arrayan, 2001). Museums include the Museo Antropológico in Valdivia and the Museo Regional de la Araucanía in Temuco.

⁶ In 1993, for example, Mapuche poets took part in the conference programmes of the Universidad Católica of Temuco (August) and the Universidad de Concepción (September).

projected on to – Mapuche poets about whether they attack the cultural values of mainstream society, or seek a dialogue with it.

Such a dilemma has been a theme throughout this thesis – particularly in the chapters on education and museums – but it is in the production and reception of Mapuche poetry that the ambivalence of the situation is most clearly conveyed. Poetry, after all, is not traditionally based on a western European liberal model (in contrast to Chile’s education system and museums); it is universal, an art form with which most peoples have engaged. Moreover, it is not in itself representative of state discourses. Nonetheless, it has – to a certain extent at least – become institutionalised, and this point is key to the contradictory narratives that emerge from the poetry. Perhaps the greatest paradox is the way in which certain anthropologists have understood the poets’ verses to exemplify the development of ethno-nationalist sentiments and aspirations among the Mapuche, at the same time as dominant discourses of *chilenidad* have proved successful in appropriating them.

Assessing the critical literature

Iván Carrasco and Hugo Carrasco constitute the main “authorities” on Mapuche literature in Chile today. They are the only people to have carried out a systematic study of the poetry. Their arguments have also provided the theoretical base for the majority of academic papers and theses undertaken on Mapuche poetry since the 1980s.⁷ Iván and Hugo Carrasco’s work and academic positions render them part of the literary establishment in Chile. At the time of writing, the former is on the editorial board of the *Revista Chilena de Literatura* and lectures on literature and linguistics at the Universidad Austral in Valdivia. The latter is currently the Dean of the Faculty of Education and Humanities at the Universidad de la Frontera, in Temuco, used to be director of the academic journal *Pentukun* and has also been

⁷ Paulina Barrenechea, ‘Usos y mecanismos literarios en el discurso mapuche’, Working Paper Series 9, Nuke Mapu (2002); J.A. Moens, ‘La poesía mapuche: expresiones de identidad’, Tesis de Licenciatura, University of Utrecht, Holland (1999); Elsa Mora Curriao, ‘Identidad cultural en *El invierno, su imagen, y otros poemas azules*’, *Lengua y Literatura Mapuche* 7 (1996), pp.59-71; Veronica Contreras, ‘Un viaje a la memoria en la escritura poetica de Elicura Chihuailaf’ *Lengua y Literatura Mapuche* 7 (1996), pp. 41-47.

responsible for the literary review *Lengua y Literatura Mapuche*. Universidad de la Frontera, a state institution, has funded both these publications.

The establishment literature (which incorporates several anthropologists as well as literary critics) is by no means uniform and, to be sure, it has changed and developed over time, but there do appear to be several strands linking its commentaries on Mapuche literary discourse. First and foremost is its focus on contemporary Mapuche poetry's "rupture with tradition", as if what the writers of the 1980s and 1990s have produced is entirely new. This approach implies the emergence of a new and, in turn, "loss" of an old Mapuche identity. Yet, at the same time critics note significant efforts to hold on to this old or "traditional" identity (Iván Carrasco has called this tendency "intraculturalism").⁸ Mapuche poetry's written form, individual authorship, urban setting, use of modern technology (the Internet as the main means of diffusion) and the Spanish language are highlighted as its new or "intercultural" features. Following the same logic, the old or "intracultural" aspects are its oral expression, collective production, focus on the rural community and use of Mapuzungun. Either way, whether supposedly embracing modernity or reasserting tradition, Mapuche poetry is studied separately from Chilean national literature. It is referred to as "etnoliteratura" or "etnopoésia" because it is produced by members of an "ethnic minority", who seek to express their distinctiveness from mainstream society. Due to its apparent attempts to rewrite history, deny racial stereotypes and reject assimilationist identity discourses, many academics have analysed the poetry as an example of Mapuche people's "attitude of resistance", "culture of resistance" or "discourse of resistance".⁹ It has also been widely described as "testimonial",¹⁰

⁸ Iván Carrasco, 'Tensiones entre la intra- y la interculturalidad en la poesía de E. Chihuailaf and L. Lienlaf', in *Lengua y Literatura Mapuche* 7 (1996), pp. 27-39.

⁹ Hugo Carrasco, 'Rasgos identitarios de la poesía mapuche actual', *Revista Chilena de la Literatura* 61 (2002), p. 87; 'Poesía mapuche actual: De la apropiación hacia la innovación cultural', *Revista Chilena de la Literatura* 43 (1993), p. 85; Iván Carrasco, 'Literatura etnocultural en hispanoamérica: concepto y precursores', *Revista Chilena de la Literatura* 42 (1993), p. 67; Alex Donato Guzman, 'Reinvención y recreación de la identidad cultural de los mapuches urbanos a partir de las imágenes de la comunidad mapuche', PhD Thesis, Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano, Santiago de Chile (2000), p. 42.

¹⁰ Hugo Carrasco, 'Rasgos identitarios...', p. 83; Alex Donato Guzman, 'Reinvención y recreación...', p. 41; Mabel García Barrera, 'Poesía Mapuche: Poetas y Críticos. Un diálogo común intercultural', *Pentukun* 10-11 (2000), p. 54.

telling the story of a people who have suffered poverty, marginalisation and oppression.

All these labels are reductionist, limiting the study of Mapuche poetry to the ethnicity of its authors, as if this were the only interesting thing about it. Its themes are examined solely in terms of what they tell us about “being Mapuche”, thereby ignoring its relevance to other peoples or poetic production more generally. (On the odd occasion when its universal appeal is mentioned, it is used to highlight the poetry’s “non-traditional” character.) Likewise, its literary mechanisms are rarely studied *per se*, but rather as evidence of the poets’ ability to adopt foreign techniques and modes of expression. Iván Carrasco, for example, recently claimed that use of the written word marked “the development of a new Mapuche identity, open to history, modernity and interculturality.”¹¹ Such statements imply that the Mapuche have never before opened themselves up to historical change, nor entered into intercultural relations with other people, and thus deny the internal dynamism of Mapuche culture. “Mapucheness” becomes synonymous with pre-modern or archaic times. Overly simplistic dichotomies of ‘writing versus orality’ and ‘Spanish versus Mapuzungun’ serve to reinforce the idea that one is traditional and authentically Mapuche, while the other is modern and less Mapuche.

The subject of my thesis is identity debates, so I too analyse Mapuche poetry as an identity discourse. However, instead of focusing on the poetry alone (and its supposed “message”) I look at the debates surrounding the poetry, what critics have said, how writers have responded and so forth. Many inconsistencies emerge from the poetry itself, but my main concern is to establish how different people engage with these problems rather than to attempt to resolve them. In this way, the present chapter seeks to demonstrate the inadequacies of the dichotomies outlined above. The establishment literature has raised many important and valid points and I draw on it throughout. However, it has a tendency to essentialise and pigeonhole Mapuche

¹¹ Iván Carrasco, ‘Los estudios mapuches y la modificación del canon literario chileno’, *Lengua y Literatura Mapuche* 9 (2000), p. 46.

identity, whereas the poetry seems – to the contrary – to attest to a constant reformulation of “Mapucheness”. Similarly, many critics are inclined to see cultural identity as a pre-formed thing which poetry simply expresses. Yet, as shown below, poetry is constitutive of Mapuche cultural identity rather than merely reflective of it. By examining the writers’ own opinions of their literary creation, it becomes apparent how the dilemmas and identity debates are very much part of the poetry itself. The authors are aware that there are certain advantages to claiming a “pure” untouched Mapuche identity. Indeed, their work often promotes such imagery, but it does so in a more ambiguous and problematic way than the majority of critics and reviewers seem to recognise. The poetry also points to the implausibility of finding an “authentic” or “true” Mapuche, demonstrating that there are many different ways of being Mapuche and that these are continually changing.

Most critics – and I stress most, because there are notable exceptions, particularly among Mapuche academics – fail to incorporate the poets’ own views. By concentrating on a limited number of writers, they also seem to have ignored the huge diversity of work now in print (according to Jaime Huenún, there are approximately fifty Mapuche writers being published and debated in Chile),¹² thereby decreeing a Mapuche literary canon. My own work also focuses on the most well known and institutionalised contemporary authors, Elicura Chihuailaf and Leonel Lienlaf.¹³ However, it also discusses several other (less famed) writers, such as Sebastian Queupul, Jaime Huenún, César Millahueique and David Anifir, and their contributions to identity debates.

Sebastian Queupul

Although mass production and diffusion of Mapuche literature did not occur until the late 1980s, this chapter takes Sebastian Queupul Quintremil and his publication of *Poemas mapuches en castellano* (1966) as its main point of departure. The text

¹² *Rocinante* 59 (September 2003).

¹³ These authors stand out in terms of literary awards, their poetry has been included in museum exhibitions and their names have been officially incorporated into the Chilean literary canon. See

was published in bilingual form, more specifically referred to as “doble registro” or “doble codificación”: verses printed in Mapuzungun first (on the left- hand side of the page) with the Spanish version alongside (on the right). The Mapuzungun and Spanish versions have been understood as two different linguistic codes, the double elaboration of the same idea rather than a direct translation of Mapuzungun into Spanish.¹⁴ There is a consensus among academics – both Mapuche and non-Mapuche – that *Poemas mapuches en castellano* was of great significance in the development of Mapuche literature. Ariel Antillanca, Clorinda Cuminao and Cesar Loncón recently asserted its “dramatic opening of a new period in Mapuche poetic production”.¹⁵ Elicura Chihuailaf referred to the work as an “editorial and poetic landmark in twentieth century literary creation”.¹⁶ Cecilia Vicuña affirmed that Queupul stood out as the “first of the contemporary [Mapuche] poets” and Gordon Brotherston described *Poemas mapuches* as the earliest example of the “recent Mapuche literary renaissance”.¹⁷

It was not the case, however, that Queupul’s poetry emerged from a void. Without wanting to reinforce the idea that Mapuche culture is fundamentally oral in character (and by doing so reduce it to some sort of oral “essence”), it is worth noting the long history of poetry within the oral traditions of this people. During the colonial period numerous foreign travellers and chroniclers attested to the richness of Mapuche communities’ poetic tradition, particularly in song.¹⁸ Volodia Teitelboim once argued that poetry existed in Chile long before the arrival of the Spanish, and Mapuche poets today frequently contend that this form of literary expression has

Marta D. Domínguez, *Bibliografía de Nuevos Escritores de Chile* (Santiago: SEREC, 1993); Efraín Szmulewicz, *Diccionario de la Literatura Chilena* (Santiago: Ediciones Rumbos, 1997).

¹⁴ Iván Carrasco, ‘Etnoliteratura Mapuche y Literatura Chilena: Relaciones’, *Actas de Lengua y Literatura* 4 (1990), p. 25; Hugo Carrasco, ‘Rasgos identitarios...’, p. 87; Paulina Barrenechea, ‘Usos y mecanismos...’, p. 59.

¹⁵ Ariel Antillanca, Clorinda Cuminao and Cesar Loncón, *Escritos Mapuches, 1910-1999* (Santiago: Asociación Xawun Ruka, 2000), pp. 30-32

¹⁶ Elicura Chihuailaf, ‘Mongoley mapa ñi pullu chef ñi llewmuyin’, *Simpson* 7, 2 (1992), p.130

¹⁷ Gordon Brotherston, “Indigenous Literatures in the Twentieth Century” in Leslie Bethell (ed.) *A Cultural History of Latin America: Literature, Music and Visual Arts in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 301.

¹⁸ See Francisco Núñez de Pineda, *Cautiverio Feliz* (Santiago: Zig-Zag, 1948), pp. 403-404. The original copy of this text was published in the 1660s.

existed “since time immemorial” among their people.¹⁹ Such claims about its ancient status offer a plausible explanation as to why it is poetry, rather than the novel, short story or essay that predominates in the written work of Mapuche authors today.

Poemas mapuches en castellano was not therefore the first example of Mapuche poetic expression. Neither was it the first case of Mapuzungun appearing in its written form. According to French anthropologist André Menard, “writing has always existed in Mapuche culture.”²⁰ He interpreted the symbols inscribed on the *kultrún* [sacred drum] as a written expression of Mapuche cultural terminology – these told a narrative of the origins of the Mapuche universe – and explained how the word ‘writing’ existed in several different forms in Mapuzungun, implying its important historical significance. Menard also pointed to the presence of Jesuit missionary schools in Araucanía from the sixteenth century onwards. These schools attempted to teach Mapuche people to read and write in Spanish but it proved more efficient, in terms of converting them to Christianity, to teach the word of God in their own language. Jesuit priests therefore endeavoured to establish a Mapuzungun alphabet and express it as best they could on the written page. The many studies of Mapuzungun undertaken throughout the colonial period attest to missionaries’ continuing interest in the language. Luis de Valdivia’s *Arte, vocabulario y confesionario de la lengua en Chile* (1606) was an early example,²¹ and in the eighteenth century there appeared *Arte de la lengua general del reyno de Chile* (1765) by Andrés Fébres and *Chilidungu sive tractatus lingae chilensis* (1777), by Bernardo Havestadt.²² Although the authors of these texts were foreign and the writing in them therefore not part of Mapuche culture, they do show that written

¹⁹ Teitelboim is quoted in Elicura Chihuailaf, *Recado confidencial a los chilenos* (Santiago: Ediciones Lom, 1999), p. 63.

²⁰ Andre Menard, presentation given at the *Taller de Clasificación*, Hogar Mapuche, Universidad de la Frontera, Temuco, 1st August 2003.

²¹ This text was originally published by Impresor Francisco del Canto in Lima. It was later republished in a more accessible form. See Luis de Valdivia, *Arte, vocabulario y confesionario de la lengua de Chile* (Leipzig: Julio Platzmann, 1887).

²² The former was first published in Lima, though I have not been able to obtain the exact details. Havestadt’s work was originally published in Latin. Julio Platzmann in Leipzig published the Spanish version in 1883.

forms of Mapuzungun were produced in conjunction or collaboration with Mapuche people.

The late-nineteenth/early-twentieth century marked a revival of interest in Mapuche language. In 1897 German linguist Rodolfo Lenz published *Estudios araucanos*, now commonly recognised as the first systematic study of Mapuzungun in its written form.²³ Shortly after this came *Gramática araucana* (1903) and *Lecturas araucanas* (1910) by Father Felix José de Augusta.²⁴ Lenz and de Augusta collected, transcribed and translated Mapuche oral testimonies, poetry and legendary tales passed on from generation to generation. (That the poetry – namely that of Trekaman Mañkelef, Camilio Melipan, Segundo Weñunko and Julian Weitra – has appeared in literary journals alongside the work of current authors and, on occasion, actually been incorporated into these authors' verses would suggest its continued relevance today.)²⁵ By 1913 transcriptions of Mapuche poetry had also appeared in the work of Chilean anthropologist Tomás Guevara, although he mainly focused on testimonies of historical events.²⁶ The most well known example of Mapuche oral testimony, however, was that of Pascual Coña, transcribed and translated by Austrian missionary Ernesto Wilhelm Moesbach in the 1920s.²⁷

All of the above authors were Chilean or European and their interest in Mapuche oral testimonies and poetry was mainly driven by a desire to salvage the last remnants of a culture supposedly on the verge of extinction. Recently, *Las últimas familias* by Tomás Guevara was re-edited and re-published as *Historias de familias* with Manuel Mankelef named as co-author.²⁸ Mankelef was crucial to the collection

²³ Rodolfo Lenz, *Estudios araucanos: Materiales para el estudio de la lengua, la literatura i las costumbres de los indios mapuche o araucanos* (Santiago: Imprenta Cervantes, 1897) p.VII

²⁴ Felix José de Augusta, *Gramática Araucana* (Valdivia: Imprenta Central J. Lampert, 1903); *Lecturas Araucanas* (Temuco: Editorial Kusche, 1991[1910]).

²⁵ See Simpson 7, 2 (1992) and Elicura Chihuailaf, *Sueños azules y contrasueños* (Santiago: Universitaria, 1995).

²⁶ Tomás Guevara, *Folklore araucano* (Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 1911); *Las últimas familias* (Santiago: Imprenta de Chile, 1912).

²⁷ Pascual Coña, *Memorias de un cacique mapuche* (Santiago: ICIRA, 1971). See Chapter One for a more detailed commentary on the text.

²⁸ Tomás Guevara and Manuel Mankelef, *Historias de Familias: Siglo XIX* (Santiago and Temuco: Colibrís/Liwen, 2002).

and translation of Mapuche testimonies in the original version (1912) but Guevara refused to recognise his authorial role, although he did mention his help in the acknowledgements. According to José Ancán, who wrote the prologue to the revised edition, Mankelef was “the first Mapuche who systematically reflected and wrote in both languages”.²⁹ Jaime Huenún, a recently published poet himself, has also recognised Mankelef’s pioneering status, describing him as the “first Mapuche writer recognised as such by the literary and scientific institutions” in Chile.³⁰ He was leader of the first non-traditional Mapuche political organisation Sociedad Caupolicán and his written work was the result of having had access to the Chilean education system from an early age. Rather than poetry, however, Mankelef’s work was mainly comprised of political writings and scientific studies.

Sebastian Queupul, therefore, was not the first Mapuche intellectual to take up the written word in its bilingual form. Neither was he the first to publish his own poetry. Verses written by Mapuche authors (rather than transcribed by scholars) appeared in the public sphere as early as the 1930s: Anselmo Quilaqueo, for example, published an anthology of poems entitled *Cancionero Araucano* in 1939.³¹ The 1930s also saw the emergence of several periodicals run by Mapuche intellectuals, such as the *Voz de Arauco* (Temuco) and the *Heraldo Araucano* (Santiago), which helped to diffuse the works of poets Guillermo Igayman, Antonio Painemal and Teodoberta Neculman, albeit to a limited local audience. Having been unable to acquire these publications, it is difficult to be sure whether they were bilingual. Secondary sources would suggest that the majority were written in Spanish, although Neculman has been quoted in both Spanish and Mapuzungun.³²

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁰ Jaime Huenún, ‘Manuel Manquilef González o el milagro de la pluma’ (17th August 2003), published on www.ulmapu.cl

³¹ Anselmo Quilaqueo, *Cancionero Araucano* (Temuco: Centro de Estudiantes Newentuin, 1939). The Centro de Estudiantes Newentuin was run by contemporary poet Elicura Chihuailaf’s father. Chihuailaf himself has referred to this collection as “perhaps the first work created, as well as published [...] by our brothers on their own initiative”. See Elicura Chihuailaf, ‘Jewun ci mapu ñi pvjv’, *Liwen* 2 (1990), pp. 36-40.

³² Chihuailaf, ‘Mongeley mapu ni pullu ...’, p. 132.

Given that the publication of written works by Mapuche intellectuals was not a new phenomenon, why is Sebastian Queupul's poetry seen as a landmark in the history of Mapuche literary production? Firstly, *Poemas mapuches en castellano* constituted the first *book* of bilingual poetry published in its own right.³³ Previous examples of bilingual poetry had only appeared in journals or collections by scholars such as Guevara, Lenz and Augusta. Secondly, Queupul's publication was the first instance of both the Mapuzungun and Spanish versions of the poetry being the intellectual property of the same author. Queupul wrote in Mapuzungun then translated the verses into Spanish himself. In this sense, Queupul was the first poet to have full control of his cultural production and consequently full authorship rights. Finally, Queupul's 1966 publication testified to the emergence of a new theme in Mapuche poetry: urban life.³⁴ This became increasingly important in the majority of poets' work after Queupul.

Sebastian Queupul was born in Ralpitra, a rural community south of Nueva Imperial (IX Region), in the 1920s.³⁵ Ralpitra, or at least Queupul's memory of it, has a notable presence in his work: it was "the land of [his] childhood", the "blessed orchard". He went to primary school nearby, but had to leave his community to continue his studies at secondary level.³⁶ After graduating as a secondary school teacher, Queupul, like many other Mapuche, migrated to Santiago in search of better employment opportunities. By the time *Poemas mapuches en castellano* appeared in print he was working for the Ministry of Education's Department of Culture and Publications. Indeed, it was the Ministry of Education that financed Queupul's literary endeavour.³⁷

³³ Barrenechea, 'Usos y mecanismos...', p. 61.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

³⁵ I have been unable to establish his exact date of birth, but have assumed from other details of his childhood (his last years of secondary school were between 1941-1942 and he enrolled in a teacher training school in 1943) that he must have been born in the mid-1920s.

³⁶ These biographical details are provided on the back cover of his book *Poemas mapuches en castellano* (Santiago: Ministerio de Educación, 1966).

³⁷ Interview, Sebastian Queupul, *Biblioteca Nacional*, Santiago, 8th September 2003.

Minor references in local newspapers apart,³⁸ it was not until the 1970s that much interest was shown in Queupul's work.³⁹ Hugo Carrasco has credited his brother with "discovering" the poet. Iván Carrasco used *Poemas mapuches en castellano* to examine the author's cultural heritage, highlighting the presence of several elements that he saw as "truly" Mapuche: the "close and loving bond with the land", the *kultrún* [sacred drum], the *ruka* [traditional rural dwelling] and *canelo* [a plant used for ceremonies]. However, he claimed that the underlying message was one of Queupul losing his Mapuche identity.⁴⁰ Living in Santiago, the author allegedly felt alienated from his rural community.⁴¹ Carrasco noted a sense of frustration in the poetry or more specifically a sense of rebellion against the urban reality in which Queupul found himself. He also underlined the writer's feelings of solitude: the landscape described in the poetry was unpopulated; only Queupul was present.⁴² According to Iván Carrasco, "being Mapuche" was therefore something that Queupul could only realise in the past; in the present, identification with this culture was no more than a desire or an aspiration.⁴³

In sharp contrast, Mapuche literary critics Antillanca, Cuminao and Loncón argued that Queupul, as understood through his poetry, was able to maintain his links with Mapuche culture "beyond mere yearning and nostalgia".⁴⁴ Focusing on the changes taking place in the 1960s, they interpreted Queupul's poetry as demonstrative of a cultural resurgence among the Mapuche, while Carrasco perceived – in the appropriation of "foreign" concepts and literary mechanisms – only the "dissolution of Mapuche consciousness in his literature".⁴⁵ The disparity between the two readings of Queupul's verses becomes of greater interest still if the author's own

³⁸ See, for example, *La Discusión*, Chillán (12th August 1958), which included a brief reference to Queupul and his poem 'Paisaje', which was not part of *Poemas mapuches en castellano*.

³⁹ Iván Carrasco, 'Sobre un poema de Sebastián Queupul Qunitremil', *El Diario Austral* (11th July 1971); Iván Carrasco, 'Desarraigo, ajenidad y anhelo en la poesía de Sebastian Queupul', *Stylo* 14 (1975), pp. 67-83.

⁴⁰ Iván Carrasco, 'Sobre un poema...'

⁴¹ Iván Carrasco, 'Desarraigo, ajenidad y anhelo...', p. 78.

⁴² The only exception is the presence of Elvira in the poem 'Confesión de un asceta'.

⁴³ Iván Carrasco, 'Desarraigo, ajenidad y anhelo...', p. 77

⁴⁴ Antillanca et al., *Escritos mapuches*, pp. 30-32.

⁴⁵ Iván Carrasco, 'Sobre un poema...'

views are taken into account. In a private interview, he described how the “tema mapuche” had very little to do with his incursions into literary production.⁴⁶ He began, he said, by writing love letters and, encouraged by others, delved into poetry. His Mapuche heritage – part of himself and his history – emerged in the poetry but, according to Queupul, was not the reason he started to write. For Queupul, literature is universal: he wrote poetry and happened to be Mapuche, rather than writing poetry with the express purpose of reinforcing any particular sense of Mapuche identity.

For the purposes of the argument here, the main significance of Queupul’s work is that it marked a change of genre in Mapuche writing. While poetry was collected in the transcriptions of early twentieth century scholars and published in journals by the 1930s, it was the testimonial narrative that seems to have been the most widely diffused written work in Mapuzungun during this period. Native “informants” recounted their memories of events in Mapuche history, describing key historical figures, battles against the Chilean army, violent confrontations between different Mapuche families and so forth. Responding to requests for specific information, informants’ narratives were guided by the scholar, who also had complete freedom to edit and translate these testimonies as he/she saw fit. Such issues relate to a much broader concern within academia today regarding the subjectivity of the scholar-interviewer and the power relations established between him/her and the informant. With Queupul’s publication in 1966, bilingual poetry was created, written and translated by a Mapuche intellectual, reflecting on his life, remembering his homeland, in short, telling his own story the way he wanted to. This was not the case for many Mapuche authors (or informants) before him.

Key to this transition was the process of mass urbanisation that began in the 1930s and the increasing incorporation of Mapuche children into the Chilean education system that occurred during a similar timeframe. Education was more accessible to

⁴⁶ Interview, op. cit.

Mapuche living in urban centres, as it was to Chileans more generally.⁴⁷ It was also the case that the Law for Compulsory Primary Education (1920) ensured growing numbers of Mapuche attended schools in rural areas – if a school was in walking distance of the community. (The provision of rural schools did not dramatically increase until the 1960s.) Queupul took advantage of the schooling he was offered, learning to write in both Spanish and Mapuzungun, as had Mankelef before him. In contrast to this writer, however, Queupul used his training to produce poetry rather than political writings or scientific studies.⁴⁸ In one sense, Queupul's poetry was "testimonial" in that it recounted many of his life experiences, but – as shown above – in its formulation and production it was very different to the testimonies collected in the early twentieth century.

Elicura Chihuailaf and Leonel Lienlaf

Despite its symbolic importance and its influence on later work, Sebastian Queupul's *Poemas mapuches en castellano* was a very low-key production – a small *folleto* of eight pages, which included four poems in Mapuzungun and Spanish. It was not widely accessible in 1966 and it is even more difficult, in fact nigh on impossible, to get hold of a copy today.⁴⁹ *Poemas mapuches* therefore made little difference as regards the diffusion of Mapuche poetry. It was not until the late 1980s that Chile witnessed what Cecilia Vicuña has referred to as "the real impact of Mapuche poetry".⁵⁰ Leonel Lienlaf's *Se ha despertado el ave en mi corazón* (1989) was the first book by a Mapuche author to be taken on by a major publishing house in Chile.⁵¹ Lienlaf was also the first Mapuche writer to win a national literary award: the *Premio Municipal de Literatura de Santiago* in 1990 (together with Armando

⁴⁷ José Ancán, 'Urban Mapuche: Reflections on a Modern Reality in Chile', *Abya Yala News* 10: 3 (1997).

⁴⁸ Mankelef had written bilingual poetry: he transcribed his father's poetry (Trekaman Mankelef) and translated it from Spanish into Mapuzungun. He also translated Samuel Lillo's poetry into Mapuzungun. See Samuel Lillo, *Canciones de Arauco* (Santiago: Imprenta Barcelona, 1916). In both cases, however, the original was not his own creation, and political writings and academic studies generally dominated his literary production.

⁴⁹ I was able to borrow a copy of the *poemario* from Cesar Loncón, a Mapuche teacher and author of two studies on Mapuche and Chilean literature.

⁵⁰ Vicuña, *Ul: Four Mapuche Poets*, p. 17.

⁵¹ Leonel Lienlaf, *Se ha despertado el ave en mi corazón* (Santiago: Universitaria, 1989).

Uribe). That the jury was comprised of members of Santiago's City Council, the Academia Chilena de la Lengua [Chilean Academy] and the Sociedad de Escritores de Chile [Society of Chilean Writers] indicates just how "official" the recognition of Lienlaf's literary talents was. Elicura Chihuailaf – who had published his first widely acclaimed book *País de la memoria* just before Lienlaf's debut text – was honoured with the same award in 1997 for his *Sueños azules y contrasueños*.⁵² By this stage, Chihuailaf's literary prowess had already been firmly established by the *Premio Consejo Nacional del Libro y la Lectura* (1994) and since then he has won the *Mejores Obras Literarias de Autores Nacionales* (2002) for *Recado confidencial a los chilenos*, which was classified as an essay.

Both Chihuailaf and Lienlaf began writing as a result of their confrontations with the Chilean education system. Chihuailaf has described reading "books that spoke to me, spoke to us, of things that had very little to do with daily life in the community."⁵³ Lienlaf has recounted a similar experience: "My grandmother had taught me Mapuche history, something totally different to what teachers were now telling me."⁵⁴ Their poetry can be understood as a rebellion against what they were taught in school. More importantly, receiving a Chilean education meant that both poets had to leave their rural communities and move to Temuco.⁵⁵ To cope with the contradictions between different educational experiences and to recover some of what they had left behind Chihuailaf and Lienlaf began to express themselves in written poetry. At least, this is how they both remember their first incursions into literary production. Chihuailaf recalls "standing at the window in the Liceo de Temuco, thinking about [his] family" and how difficult it was to speak about his feelings with the people around him. His fears, he said, forced him to "converse with

⁵² Elicura Chihuailaf, *Sueños azules y contrasueños* (Santiago: Universitaria, 1995). *País de la memoria* was published in 1988. He had written one other book prior to this – *El invierno y su imagen* (1977) – but this was a low-key production.

⁵³ Chihuailaf, *Recado confidencial a los chilenos* (Santiago: Ediciones Lom, 1999), p. 23.

⁵⁴ Quoted by Ximena Villanueva, 'Al rescate de la historia mapuche', *El Metropolitano* (8th July 1999), p. 23.

⁵⁵ Lienlaf is from Alepue, eighty kilometres from Valdivia, and Chihuailaf is from Quechurewe, approximately seventy-five kilometres from Temuco.

a piece of paper.”⁵⁶ Lienlaf, likewise, has talked of his writing being overwhelmingly “nostalgic, as if wanting to recuperate that part [of life] that I had lost.”⁵⁷ In this sense, their early poetry was very similar to that of Sebastian Queupul, who also wrote of his alien urban reality, his *tierra* (his ‘homeland’, his rural community) and his childhood memories.

However, the need to recover and defend a distinctive Mapuche identity was far more explicit in the poetry of Chihuailaf and Lienlaf than it was in Queupul’s verses. The instrumental role of poetry as a channel for identity debates was not an issue for Queupul at the time of writing, as he himself has recounted. Nor was the conflict between Mapuche political organisations and the Chilean state so prominent. Indeed, Queupul was working for the government when *Poemas mapuches en castellano* was published.⁵⁸ In stark contrast, Chihuailaf and Lienlaf came to perceive poetry as a tool that could serve the Mapuche in their struggle against the Chilean state. Clemente Riedemann, himself a poet from the tenth region, has stressed how Mapuche writers use “poetry as publicity, calling attention to the material and spiritual dispossession suffered by [their people] since the sixteenth century.”⁵⁹ This was not initially the case for Lienlaf and Chihuailaf: Lienlaf claimed that he wrote purely for himself and Chihuailaf stated that he never intended his poetry to read by anyone, let alone published.⁶⁰ In his own words, he “began writing without any idea as to its implications.”⁶¹ The writers’ understandings about the repercussions or meanings of their poetry have, however, been quite radically revised over the years. For Chihuailaf “poetry does not merely safeguard the cultural identity of a people, it generates it.”⁶² Lienlaf made the point more clearly still: “Mapuche poets who

⁵⁶ Chihuailaf quoted by Carolina Herreira in *La Nación*, ‘Perfiles Semanal’ (19th March 2000).

⁵⁷ Lienlaf quoted in *La Epoca* (2nd September 1990).

⁵⁸ As noted earlier in the chapter, Queupul was working for Departamento de Cultura y Publicaciones, which was part of the Ministry of Education. His specific task, according to the biographical information provided on the back page of *Poemas mapuches en castellano*, was to prepare educational texts on Mapuche grammar, lexicography and place names.

⁵⁹ Clemente Riedemann, ‘Literatura y etnicidad en el sur de Chile’, *Alpha*, No.16 (2000).

⁶⁰ Lienlaf quoted in *La Epoca*, 2nd September 1990; Chihuailaf quoted in *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*, supl. (29th September 2000).

⁶¹ Ricardo Lopez, “Elicura Chihuailaf: El azul en la poesía”, *Revista Rayentru*, No.8 (March/April 1995).

⁶² Quoted in Vicuña, *Ul: Four Mapuche Poets*, p. 25.

proclaim themselves as such have a commitment to our people.”⁶³ To Jaime Huenún’s mind, such a commitment means that poets effectively assume a role as representatives of a “people searching for the restitution of their history, memory and territory.”⁶⁴

How do we explain this shift? Why did Mapuche writers’ ethnic (as opposed to personal) identity become so intrinsic to the poetry? What prompted them to become more confrontational with the state, when this was clearly not the case for Sebastian Queupul in the 1960s? For Chihuilaf 11th September 1973 was the definitive date of the breakdown in relations between the Mapuche and the Chilean state. Pinochet’s government, he said, unleashed an “extermination” campaign against Mapuche communities, which he saw as the cause of a resurgence of ethnic identification, and an increase in their resistance to state intrusions.⁶⁵ Previous governments had, in contrast, been relatively successful (at least on a discursive level) in incorporating the Mapuche into the state project. This was particularly the case during the presidencies of Frei Montalva and Allende, when increased education coverage and agrarian reform were placed high on the political agenda. Mapuche poetry and its more openly confrontational stance can be seen as indicative of the failure of state integrationist policies, and Mapuche organisations’ protests against government attempts to eliminate “indigenous” lands (through the division of communal holdings) and, with it, this people’s indigenous identity. Chihuilaf’s first written publication appeared in 1977, just one year before the founding of the Centros Culturales Mapuches. Both Chihuilaf and the Centros Culturales used artistic creativity in opposition to the dictatorship when political activity was impossible.⁶⁶

Repression therefore stimulated Mapuche poetic production, but it was not until the return to democracy (or at least democratic procedures), that mass diffusion of Mapuche poetry became a reality. This coincided with ‘The Agreement of Nueva

⁶³ See recent interview on www.ulmapu.cl

⁶⁴ Felipe Ruiz Valenzuela, ‘Jaime Huenún: “La identidad nacional única no existe”’, *Rocinante* 59 (September 2003).

⁶⁵ Chihuilaf, *Recado confidencial*, p. 136, 180, 194.

Imperial', signed between Aylwin and numerous indigenous organisations in 1989, and the development of a new Indigenous Law, which was passed in 1993. Within such a climate of political opening and change Mapuche cultural production "boomed". Its content – its declaration of a distinctive ethnic identity – was not new. What was new was the fact that this no longer ran contrary to official discourse. Indeed, the idea that the Mapuche were culturally different to mainstream society was central to the government's new inclusive version of *chilenidad* and therefore widely promoted.

The role allocated to Mapuche organisations in the process of democratic consolidation reflected cultural and political developments taking place throughout Latin America during the 1980s and 1990s. Responses to Mapuche poetry should, likewise, be understood in the context of broader academic debates taking place beyond Chile. I refer here specifically to questions about the "authenticity" of indigenous cultures, the idea of appropriation as resistance, and notions of cultural control. Néstor García Canclini has drawn on the case of indigenous handicrafts and their "commodification" to examine what he sees as the false dichotomies of tradition and modernity.⁶⁷ Through art, he says, indigenous peoples reassert the "traditions that persist" within their societies, but they often do this by employing the very instruments of modernity (such as the written word) that many people presume they were resisting. They thereby demonstrate that these instruments are not alien to them at all, but instead just as valuable as they are to other peoples. Guillermo Bonfil Batalla has also examined indigenous cultures' appropriation of the tools of mainstream/modernised society in order to resist the homogenising tendencies of that same society.⁶⁸ Rather than having such tools imposed on them, indigenous groups have chosen to utilise them to serve their own purposes and have, in this way, brought them under their control. Mapuche poetry and the critical

⁶⁶ Arauco Chihuilaf, 'Poesía Mapuche', *Nuke Mapu* (1998) See www.soc.uu.se.

⁶⁷ Néstor García Canclini, *Las culturas populares bajo el capitalismo*. 6th edn (Mexico D.F.: Grijalbo, 2002).

⁶⁸ Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, 'Los pueblos indios, sus culturas y las políticas culturales' in Néstor García Canclini (ed.) *Políticas culturales en América Latina* (Mexico D.F.: Grijalbo, 1987), pp. 89-126.

responses to it are representative of the same issues. This is most apparent in the dilemmas that emerge regarding orality versus the written word, Mapuzungun versus Spanish, and the rural countryside versus urban environments. Building on the insights of García Canclini and Bonfil Batalla, we can see that such dilemmas are constructed within the larger framework of resistance and confrontation versus dialogue and communication.

Resistance and confrontation

Chihuailaf rejects the term “culture of resistance” for its reductionist implication that Mapuche culture is only valid as a subculture (inferior to the culture of the dominant society that it is resisting) and the apparent refusal inherent in such terminology to appreciate cultures in their plurality.⁶⁹ Undoubtedly, Mapuche culture is far more than a mere “culture of resistance”, but this does not invalidate the idea that many Mapuche writers have incorporated discourses and strategies of resistance into their work. (It is not the only theme in Mapuche poetry, and it is by no means a constant theme, but it has an important presence nonetheless.) Barrenechea and Iván Carrasco have both highlighted the “voice of protest” found in Mapuche poetry, a protest against the inequalities, exploitation and marginalisation that Mapuche people have suffered – and continue to suffer – under the jurisdiction of the Chilean state. Chihuailaf seems to concur with this interpretation: he described *El país de la memoria* (1988) as “the first scream of a people prohibited from being born”,⁷⁰ and in *Recado confidencial a los chilenos* he explicitly protested against the Chilean state’s past and present actions (militarisation and repression) in Araucanía. Chihuailaf also defended his right to complain and make demands on the state government: “what we are demanding is just, what we are demanding is legitimate, we are demanding it out of necessity.”⁷¹ In a similar, although somewhat more desperate tone, Lienlaf called on his readers to understand the injustices and horrors

⁶⁹ Chihuailaf, *Recado confidencial*, p. 49.

⁷⁰ Hugo Carrasco, ‘Poesía mapuche actual...’, p. 79.

⁷¹ Chihuailaf, *Recado confidencial*, p. 163.

that the Mapuche have suffered: “listen to my tears speak”, he pleaded, at the end of his poem *Llamaradas*.⁷²

The poetry also protests against the Mapuche’s relegation to the past and their supposed absence from Chile’s present. Arauco Chihuilaf, Elicura’s brother, has noted how “the poets’ quill serves to remind us that the Mapuche universe still exists: its people, battles, memories and dreams.”⁷³ Lienlaf’s poem *Volveré* reinforced the same idea: “I will return to say that I am alive/ that I am singing/ beside a spring./ Spring of blood!”⁷⁴ In regard to the verses’ affirmation of this people’s continued survival and strength, Arauco Chihuilaf also mentioned the power of dreams in Mapuche poetry and Mapuche society more generally. As a space that cannot be invaded by the Chilean state, a space where battles still rage and are won, dreams can be seen as representative of a symbolic discourse of Mapuche struggle against the dominant Chilean system.

In many ways, the poetry rejects the assimilation of Mapuche culture into mainstream Chilean society. Given that Chilean newspapers, especially *El Mercurio*, tend to strongly condemn any government initiative that differentiates between Chileans and Mapuche, it is surprising that a number of them have picked up on this aspect of Mapuche poetry.⁷⁵ (This is indicative of the divergent discourses that emerge from different sections of the same newspaper: *El Mercurio*’s section on ‘Artes y Letras’, for instance, portrays a far greater awareness about the complexity of the “Mapuche problem” than its editorial pages do.) Jaime Huenún has recently referred to the poetry’s assertion of Mapuche difference as an example of an emerging “protonationalism” among his people and Chilean anthropologist Rolf Foerster has described Chihuilaf’s *Recado confidencial* as the first systematic work

⁷² Lienlaf, *Se ha despertado el ave en mi corazón*, p. 61.

⁷³ Arauco Chihuilaf, ‘Poesía Mapuche’.

⁷⁴ Lienlaf, ‘Volveré’ from *Se ha despertado el ave en mi corazón*, translated into English in Cecilia Vicuña, *Ul: Four Mapuche Poets*, p. 77.

⁷⁵ *La Epoca* (2nd September 1990) quoted Lienlaf as saying that Chileans and Mapuche were two different peoples, a statement which was not attacked as “separatist” or a “threat to national security”, as any legal reforms recognising difference are.

of Mapuche “ethno-nationalism”.⁷⁶ Certain intellectuals (of both Mapuche and non-Mapuche origins), such as Marco Valdés and Eduardo Curvil, have disagreed with Foerster’s attempt to analyse Mapuche poetry in political terms.⁷⁷ However, it is widely acknowledged that Mapuche territoriality and the land conflict between communities and the state is an important component of Chihuailaf and Lienlaf’s verses.⁷⁸ On this point it seems apposite to briefly mention the work of comparative historian of nationalism Walker Connor, for he has emphasised the importance of ancestral lands (the land of our fathers, this sacred soil) in what he refers to as the “ethnonational bond.”⁷⁹ According to Connor, such invocations have proven highly successful in eliciting a popular response to ethnonationalist discourses. He also highlighted the importance of the poet in stimulating such a discourse because he/she is “far more adept than the writer of learned tracts at expressing deeply felt emotion.”⁸⁰ Chihuailaf and Lienlaf’s poetic depictions of the Mapuche’s ‘homeland’ would seem to confirm Connor’s assessment.

The resistance/confrontation paradigm is also conveyed through poets’ attempts to rewrite national history and rethink dominant identity discourses. The poetry invalidates the supposedly unitary and homogenous nature of the Chilean nation. As Huenún says, it demands recognition that there is no one unique national identity in Chile.⁸¹ According to Sofía Correa Sutil *et al.*, the so-called “Mapuche problem” and its diffusion through poetry has challenged people to reconsider fundamental aspects of national identity. It could also, they claimed, oblige future state authorities to think in terms of “granting a degree of governmental and territorial autonomy” to the Mapuche.⁸² Iván Carrasco has also acknowledged the impact of Mapuche poetry on

⁷⁶ Felipe Ruiz Valenzuela, ‘Jaime Huenún...’, and Rolf Foerster, ‘Tres textos mapuches’, *El Mercurio* (7th November 1999), p. E8 respectively.

⁷⁷ Eduardo Curvil Paillavil and Marco Valdes, ‘A los intelectuales mapuches: o, de cómo resulta necesario repensar la cuestión mapuche’, published on www.mapuche.cl

⁷⁸ See *La Nación* (19th March 2003); *El Mercurio* (13th June 1999); García Barrera, ‘Poesía mapuche: poetas y críticos’.

⁷⁹ Walker Connor, ‘Beyond Reason: The Nature of the Ethnonational Bond’ in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds.) *Ethnicity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 69-75.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁸¹ Quoted in Felipe Ruiz Larraín, ‘Jaime Huenún: “La identidad nacional única no existe”’, p. 32.

⁸² Sofía Correa Sutil, Consuelo Figueroa, Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt, Claudia Rolle and Manuel Vicuña, *Historia del Siglo XX: Balance Paradojal* (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 2001), p. 364.

national identity debates: “Mapuche writers’ presence in the Chilean intellectual community has helped the latter to recognise the plural nature of the country’s history and culture.”⁸³

In specific relation to history, the poetry denies the peacefulness of the “pacification” campaigns of the 1880s, emphasising instead the violence and deaths involved. Chihuilaf remembers his “ancestors dead/ on the battlefields/ of 1883” and recalls visions of his grandparents around the fire “...moving their sad/ winter lips/ telling us about our/ dead and disappeared”.⁸⁴ Lienlaf’s poems ‘Le sacaron la piel’, ‘Temuco-Ciudad’, ‘Rojo fue mi sueño’ and ‘Amanecer’ are all haunted by spilled blood. In *Recado confidencial*, Chihuilaf’s aim to rewrite history is more explicit still. After outlining the official definition of “reducciones” (Mapuche reservations, established after occupation) as “a legally constituted community”, he described how Mapuche people experienced the process: “attacked in their homes, punished, tortured and transferred – “relocated” – far from their communities; or murdered.”⁸⁵ Significantly, while the majority of critical readings recognise the history of repression suffered by the Mapuche, they rarely acknowledge its presence as a theme in the poetry,⁸⁶ perhaps because they do not want to dwell on the actual conflict. Instead, they prefer to concentrate on the more abstract notions of “intra-” or “interculturalism” in the verses of Chihuilaf and Lienlaf.

In itself the poetry is a refutation of dominant racialised stereotypes of “Mapucheness”. These authors’ literary pursuits and the recognition they have gained at both national and international level destroys the myth of the Mapuche’s stupidity, ignorance and backwardness. The verses of Lienlaf and Chihuilaf include no allusion to the drunkenness and poverty-stricken situation of the Mapuche found in the oral poetry compiled by scholars, such as Lenz and Guevara, in the early twentieth century. Such imagery has been erased by the poetry of Lienlaf and

⁸³ Iván Carrasco, ‘Los estudios mapuches...’, p. 46.

⁸⁴ Chihuilaf, ‘La luna puede tener tu nombre’ and ‘Es otro el invierno que en mis ojos llora’ respectively.

⁸⁵ Chihuilaf, *Recado confidencial*, p. 27.

Chihuailaf, which instead proclaims the cultural riches of their people. Gilberto Triviños argued, to the contrary, that Lienlaf's poems actually reinforced stereotypes of "Mapuche-ness", although he referred here not to the drunk, lazy barbarian, but rather the noble Araucanian warrior of old.⁸⁷ According to Triviños, Lienlaf's continued reference to the violence and cruelty of conflict with the Spanish helped to perpetuate the myth of the "long bloody war", which – as noted in Chapter One – has now been refuted by many prominent historians, notably Sergio Villalobos. Such warrior imagery is surprising, given Lienlaf's self-proclaimed aversion to romanticised narratives of his people's past. Yet, viewed from a different angle, Lienlaf's emphasis on the military prowess of the Mapuche could instead be perceived as reiterating the often forgotten fact that the Mapuche were, until relatively recently, a free independent people in control of their own territory.

Finally, academic reviews have underscored the poetry's attempt to recover the collective memory of the Mapuche people.⁸⁸ In line with the idea of a counter-history discussed above, memories voiced by the poems subvert many of the claims of orthodox or "official" history in Chile. This collective memory is invariably invoked through the poets' ancestors.⁸⁹ In 'La llave que nadie ha perdido', Chihuailaf tells the reader that "poetry is the song of my ancestors" and Lienlaf frequently incorporates voices of the "ancient spirits" into his verses. Many critics have highlighted ancestral presence as a central theme in these authors' poetry as have the authors themselves when talking about their work.⁹⁰ On this point, then, they concur. The presence of multiple voices is representative of the collective nature of the poetry and hence the collective reconstruction of memory. The ancestors, who were killed by the Chilean army (and by the Spanish before them) and whose blood has stained the land and the rivers live on in the poetry and provide historical continuity to the poets' demands. The voices of the *antepasados* validate

⁸⁶ A notable exception is Mabel García Barrera, 'Poesía mapuche: poetas y críticos', p. 52.

⁸⁷ Gilberto Triviños, 'El mito del tiempo de los héroes en Valdivia, Vivar y Ercilla', *Revista Chilena de Literatura* 49 (1996), p. 5.

⁸⁸ Barrenechea, 'Usos y mecanismos literarios...', p. 87; Ivan Carrasco, 'Voces étnicas en la poesía chilena actual', *Revista chilena de literatura* 47 (1995), p. 63.

⁸⁹ Hugo Carrasco, 'Rasgos identitarios', p. 94.

the poets' attempts to reconstruct their own version of historical events. Moreover, not only are the voices of the dead included but also the voices of the living. Antillanca *et al.* have noted, in Chihuailaf's poetry in particular, the participation of community elders, his parents and his grandparents, in the reconstruction of Mapuche histories *a las orillas del fogón* [around the fire].⁹¹ This is an oral reconstruction of memory, relived spontaneously in family ritual and now re-projected through the written word.

Orality versus the written word

Making the decision about whether a poem should be expressed orally or written down is perhaps the most difficult dilemma faced by Mapuche poets, or at least this seems to be the problem most widely debated by critics. As observed by Orietta Geeregat and Manuel Fierros Bustos, Mapuche elders used to distinguish between natural and artificial memory: natural memory was equated with the oral tradition and the artificial form of memory equated with writing.⁹² The practice of writing is seen to have destroyed a more authentic memory because people no longer need to relive it spontaneously through ritual. Such understandings of writing and its artificiality seem to reiterate Pierre Nora's approach to history and memory, discussed at the beginning of Chapter Three. However, in many ways Mapuche poetry and the authors' views towards it actually serve to blur the distinction between the authentic (natural) and the artificial (created), thereby providing a further critique of Nora's argument.

Several critics have highlighted the link between writing and the historical process of colonisation or, more specifically, neo-colonial power relations between the Mapuche and the Chilean state.⁹³ Mapuche people have often described writing as

⁹⁰ e.g., Chihuailaf interviewed by Virginia Vidal in *Punto Final* (8th August 1997), p.19.

⁹¹ Antillanca, Cuminao and Loncón, *Escritos mapuches*, p. 119.

⁹² Orietta Geeregat and Manuel Fierro Bustos, 'Testimonies poeticos del mestizaje mapuche: Memoria y contramemoria en los textos de Elicura Chihuailaf, Leonel Lienlaf, Jaime Huenún and Bernardo Colipan', *Razón y Palabra*.26, published on www.cem.itesm.mx

⁹³ For a useful account of the written word's association with a history of repression in Latin America see William Rowe and Vivian Schelling, *Memory and Modernity: Popular Culture in Latin America* (London: Verso, 1991).

the *huinca* (thieving, lying Chilean's) instrument of land usurpation. It was, after all, the written word – in the form of state decrees, land titles and sale contracts – which led to hundreds of Mapuche families losing increasing amounts of land during the decades following the occupation campaigns, indeed, throughout the twentieth century. In a recent interview, Lienlaf described the process of writing as a double-edged sword. His own work, he said, prioritised oral communication: “Almost 80% of my work is geared towards oral expression, hence my publications do not so much revolve around books as collectively developed oral spaces. [...] For this reason, also, documentaries have been a part of my work, they are indicative of its orality.”⁹⁴

Lienlaf depicted poetry as fundamentally oral, something that should be sung – although he was talking about poetry as a literary genre more generally, not just Mapuche poetry. (Unlike many critics, he does not necessarily equate “Mapucheness” with orality.) For him, writing takes away a great deal of freedom from the poet as the words become imprisoned within the page. He referred specifically to writing in Mapuzungun but he could have been discussing any language: “When you leave Mapuzungun imprinted on paper it is transformed into something hard, almost as if it were startled, without letting the words follow their [natural] course. Orality allows you to vary the meaning, writing does not.”⁹⁵ Literary critics, such as Hugo Carrasco, have used Lienlaf's poem ‘Rebellion’ to reinforce the dichotomy between orality and writing, arguing that it is indicative of the author's rejection of writing.⁹⁶ Part of the poem reads: “My hands refused to write/ the words/ of an old teacher./ My hand would not write/ what wasn't my own/ He said to me:/ “you must be the rising silence”./ My hand/ told me the world/ couldn't be written down.” Lienlaf is seen to spurn the compulsion to write, maintaining that his thoughts and visions could not be confined to a written page. Yet the poem is using the written word to renounce its own validity. In this sense, the poem is best interpreted, not as an

⁹⁴ Interview with José Osorio (11th December 2003) published on www.ulmapu.cl

⁹⁵ Lienlaf, quoted in Vicuña, *Ul: Four Mapuche Poets*, p. 61.

⁹⁶ Hugo Carrasco, ‘Poesía mapuche actual...’, p. 82

outright rejection of writing but rather an acknowledgement of the tension between orality and the written word.

Importantly, the majority of Lienlaf's literary projects – as he himself noted – have focused on Mapuzungun as a spoken language, and poetry as a spoken expression of feelings and life experiences. For many years now he has been involved in the *Programa de Fomento de las Lenguas Nativas en el Sector Urbano* and in 1998 he produced a compact disc entitled *Canto y poesía mapuche*, which several newspapers described as a great success.⁹⁷ He has also become involved in the production of documentary videos, protesting against hydroelectric development projects in southern Chile.⁹⁸ Until 2003, when *Palabra sonada* was published, *Se ha despertado el ave en mi corazón* (1989) was his only individual written work of poetry.⁹⁹

Chihuailaf has written several more texts than Lienlaf, with six individual publications to date.¹⁰⁰ Hugo Carrasco used such a comparison (as well as the literary mechanisms found in each poet's work) to argue that the former fully appropriated Western literary customs, while the latter – and he drew here on the poem 'Rebellion' – explicitly rejected them.¹⁰¹ However, like Lienlaf, Chihuailaf fervently stresses the oral nature of his work. In fact, since the early 1990s he has consistently described his poetry as *oralitura*, something half way between orality and literature.¹⁰² *Sueños azules y contrasueños* (1995) is probably the most illustrative example of this way of writing.

⁹⁷ For more details on the native languages project see Carolina Lara, 'Más que poeta', *El Mercurio* (26th January 1999). On the compact disc see *El Mercurio* (15th August, 1998), p. 2, *Qué Pasa* (28th February 1998), p. 95 and *La Nación*, (27th January 1998), p. 44.

⁹⁸ These include 'Punalka', 'El Alto Bio-Bio' and 'Wirarun-grito', which can be found in the video archive of the *Museo Chileno Precolombino*.

⁹⁹ Leonel Lienlaf, *Palabra sonada* (Santiago: Ediciones Lom, 2003).

¹⁰⁰ *El Invierno y su imagen* (1977); *En el país de la memoria* (1988); *El invierno, su imagen y otros sueños azules* (1991); *Sueños azules y contrasueños* (1995); *Todos los cantos* (1996); *Recado confidencial a los chilenos* (1999).

¹⁰¹ Hugo Carrasco, 'Poesía mapuche actual...', p. 54

¹⁰² See, for example, his articles in *Simpson* 7 (1992), *Patrimonio Cultural* 22 (2001) and *Rocinante* 58 (August 2003).

Several intellectuals – both Mapuche and non-Mapuche – have criticised Chihuailaf for constantly emphasising the “oral source” of his work. At a recent conference in Temuco, for example, André Menard argued that Chihuailaf’s attitude was hypocritical.¹⁰³ He slated Chihuailaf’s repetitive allusions to evenings spent “around the fire” with parents and grandparents, and the rejection of the importance of writing in his life and Mapuche society more generally, when in fact writing has been very useful to him, his parents and many other people.¹⁰⁴ When asked in an interview about the term “oralitura” Jaime Huenún was also rather critical:

Chihuailaf is well-known for his books of poetry, that is to say his lyrical writing. If he thought it necessary to [describe] his literary work and perhaps that of other indigenous authors [so specifically and separately as oralitura] well, he has every right. [...] My own work does not fit in with such categories [...] I received a book based education which I value and [...] I’m not going to ignore this in order to promote myself as one more representative of a supposedly quintessential, uncontaminated, agrarian and oral Mapuche [culture] absolutely free of Western influences.¹⁰⁵

However, that Chihuailaf and Lienlaf emphasise the orality of their work does not necessarily mean they reject writing, as many critics imply. Chihuailaf is very much aware of the value of the written word – a point possibly best illustrated by his quotation cited as an epigraph to this chapter – and Lienlaf, in describing writing as a “double-edged sword”, referred to its advantages as well as disadvantages. During the same interview in which he stressed the oral character of most of his literary projects, Lienlaf also admitted to how enthusiastic he had been about seeing his poetry published in written form. He had seen it as “a good way of reaching more people”, especially the average Chilean. Moreover, although Lienlaf has produced only two individual publications, he has been involved in several other written

¹⁰³ André Menard, paper given at the previously cited *Taller de Declasificación*, Hogar Mapuche, Temuco, 1st August 2003.

¹⁰⁴ Elicura Chihuailaf’s father was a political leader and helped to found one of the first Mapuche periodicals.

¹⁰⁵ Jaime Huenún, ‘Manuel Mankilef González o el milagro de la pluma’ (August 2003) Published on www.ulmapu.cl

works. He has co-edited *Voces Mapuches* with Carlos Aldunate, worked with Pedro Mege Rosso on *La Imaginación Araucana* and contributed to *Gente de la Tierra* written by journalist Malú Sierra.¹⁰⁶ Writing, seen as a tool of dominant society, be it Spanish in the past or Chilean today, raises fundamental questions regarding Mapuche cultural identity, particularly when the latter is envisaged in fixed, static terms. Rather than dismiss the role of writing, however, these poets have attempted to incorporate the issues around it as a theme within the poetry itself.

In regard to writing, Iván Carrasco has argued that it might not be the poets' intention to be intercultural (noting that some long to be "intracultural") but that ultimately they cannot help but be influenced by "lo ajeno" [the Other].¹⁰⁷ His implication that writing is something fundamentally foreign to the Mapuche or, indeed, that it is specifically "European" essentialises both Mapuche and European identities. In this way, Iván Carrasco denies the Mapuche the possibility of making writing their own: it will always be foreign, never 'truly' Mapuche. It is worth noting that the poets themselves have never used the term "intracultural". On the contrary, they constantly stress how intercultural Mapuche society has always been and they relate their appropriation of writing to Lautaro's appropriation of the horse in the sixteenth century. In Chihuailaf's words: "Lautaro took that machine, the horse, but at his own pace and in his own style and he managed to change history."¹⁰⁸ Similarly, Mapuche authors have adopted the written word at their own pace and imposed their own style and content to suit their needs. Chihuailaf contested the tendency within academic circles to question the "Mapuche-ness" of writing with a simple but telling comparison: "nobody", he said, "stops being Chilean because they use a computer."¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Carlos Aldunate and Leonel Lienlaf, *Voces mapuches* (Santiago: Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, 1997); Pedro Mege Rosso, *La imaginación araucana* (Santiago: Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, 2000); Malu Sierra, *Donde todo es altar: Mapuche, gente de la tierra* (Santiago: Editorial Persona, 1992).

¹⁰⁷ Iván Carrasco, 'Tensiones entre la intra y la interculturalidad en la poesía de E. Chihuailaf and L. Lienlaf' *Lengua y Literatura Mapuche* 7 (1996), p. 29.

¹⁰⁸ Chihuailaf, interviewed by Marcelo Sanchez in *El Mercurio* (6th August 1999), p. 12.

¹⁰⁹ *El Mercurio* (26th November 1989) p. 7.

Hence, while the writers themselves challenge the distinction between writing and orality, many critics continue to construct them as opposites. When writers do exaggerate the orality of their work, then, one wonders to what extent they are responding to others' presumptions as to what is "truly" Mapuche. There are, of course, advantages to promoting Mapuche culture as uncontaminated when protesting against development projects' destruction of community livelihoods. García Canclini uses the term "hybridity" to try to overcome such false dichotomies of tradition (orality) versus modernity (writing).¹¹⁰ Hybridity does not resolve all the problems involved, because it fails to take unequal power relations fully into account, but it is a step in the right direction, and is seemingly a term that many commentaries on Mapuche poetry ignore. Hybridity is a reality for all peoples: tradition and modernity overlap; one generation's modernity is soon tradition for another; all peoples are a complex mix of different cultural elements and, hence, the notion of cultural "purity" has been widely rejected. In choosing to write, Mapuche authors are not necessarily rejecting orality; the two co-exist, albeit somewhat uneasily at times. According to Antillanca *et al.*, writing can serve the needs of Mapuche society without necessarily leading to the loss of oral customs: "The move from orality to writing has been [made full use of by] Mapuche authors. [It is] a way of documenting testimonies which are vital for our reconstruction as a people, without forgetting the multiple riches of oral tales that are full of emotion and feeling."¹¹¹ Not only is the oral poetic tradition not forgotten, in many ways it can be seen to have been reproduced and re-projected through the written word of Chihuailaf and Lienlaf.

Spanish versus Mapuzungun

The act of writing becomes even more problematic for these authors when the language used is Spanish, because many Mapuche associate Spanish with the colonisation and repression of their people. Remaining independent from Spain during the colonial period, the Mapuche were not forced to learn Spanish until the

¹¹⁰ García Canclini, *Culturas híbridas*.

¹¹¹ Antillanca, Cuminao and Loncón, *Escritos mapuches*, p. 14.

1880s, when the Chilean state occupied their territory, although this is not to say that no Mapuche person had learnt the language in this time. Many Mapuche chiefs were “indios amigos”, allies of the Chilean state authorities, and would have had to speak Spanish in the meetings and parliaments that took place in the “frontier” zone. By the early twentieth century, when the Mapuche had been effectively subjugated for over twenty years, the use of Spanish was becoming increasingly common. It was not coincidental that the use of Mapuzungun was also being increasingly frowned upon; politicians perceived it as an obstacle to Mapuche integration into national society and prohibited its use in schools. As a result of such measures and people’s desire to avoid being discriminated against as “backward and ignorant Indians”, the number of people speaking Mapuzungun has decreased throughout the twentieth century: according to official statistics, by 2002 only 16% of Mapuche people in Chile could speak it fluently.¹¹² Many theorists argue that language is a key aspect of cultural identity. While most Mapuche artists, intellectuals and political leaders deny that “being Mapuche” is rigidly determined by someone’s ability to speak Mapuzungun, using the Spanish language has raised some difficult dilemmas for contemporary poets. Again, though, it seems to be the reception of the poetry as an identity discourse that creates the problem.

According to Chilean anthropologist Pedro Mege Rosso, something is inevitably lost when Mapuzungun is translated into Spanish. “The slavery of Spanish” he said “prohibits the Mapuche meanings [of words] being fully liberated.”¹¹³ Juan Manuel Fierro construed Lienlaf’s use of graphic drawings alongside his verses as an attempt to get over such limitations.¹¹⁴ Significantly, Lienlaf himself has talked of the problems involved in translation: “Perhaps the most difficult aspect of translation is pinning down a language in which the sacred is a fact and trying to ensure that in Spanish it does not sound merely romantic or magical.”¹¹⁵ Fourteen years earlier

¹¹² Eugenio Droguett, ‘Encuesta CEP: Mapuches no hablan Mapuzungun’, *El Mercurio*, 24th October, 2002, p. C8.

¹¹³ Pedro Mege Rosso, *La imaginación araucana*, p. 74.

¹¹⁴ Juan Manuel Fierro Bustos, ‘Traducción, destinario y sentido en un poema mapuche’, *Lengua y Literatura Mapuche* 4 (1990), p.255.

¹¹⁵ *El Mercurio* (20th July 2003), p.E12.

Lienlaf had been more explicit about the difficulties of translation, stressing the fact that many words in Mapuzungun do not have an equivalent in Spanish, which means that the Spanish version of the poem feels superficial compared to the original.¹¹⁶

Yet, a large number of contemporary Mapuche poets, such as Jaime Huenún, Bernardo Colipán, Graciela Huinao and Cesar Millahueique, are not fluent in Mapuzungun. If communicating in Spanish is interpreted in such negative terms – if to do so is to “lose” the “Mapuche meaning” of a poem – how do these authors convey their Mapuche identity? In a private interview, Millahueique described how Mapuche intellectuals and artists are often criticised by other Mapuche (who are fluent) for not being able to speak their native language.¹¹⁷ I witnessed this first hand at a poetry recital in Valparaíso (30th December 2002), when a Mapuche woman in the audience stood up and berated the four speakers for presenting their poetry in Spanish: it was as if, she said, they were ashamed of their native language.¹¹⁸ Only a small number of poets can write in both Spanish and Mapuzungun. Most write in Spanish and are consequently ignored by the “official” literary establishment.¹¹⁹ Perhaps they are not deemed “Mapuche enough” to be considered Mapuche authors especially when ethnicity and its expressions are the focus of most studies. Chihuailaf has frequently protested about the lack of attention given to those authors who write only in Spanish but, as shown above, Mapuche as well as non-Mapuche readers and listeners have deemed it a severe limitation.¹²⁰

For Chihuailaf the process of translation has had many advantages because bilingual writing has meant his gaining rather than losing Mapuzungun. Chihuailaf – as he himself explained – “lost” his native language, when he migrated to the city as a child. It was only some years later, as an adult, that he began using it again.¹²¹ His

¹¹⁶ *El Mercurio* (26th November), supplement, pp. 7-8.

¹¹⁷ Interview, César Millahueique, *Consejo de Monumentos Nacionales*, Santiago, 6th February 2003.

¹¹⁸ The poets present were Jaime Huenún, Elsa Mora Curriao, Pablo Huirmilla and Bernardo Colipán.

¹¹⁹ Exceptions are Jaime Huenún and Bernardo Colipán. Their work has been taken on by mainstream publishing houses (see bibliography), and it has been discussed in literary journals, though overall they have received far less attention than Lienlaf or Chihuailaf.

¹²⁰ Chihuailaf, ‘Poesía mapuche actual: Apuntes para el inicio de un necesario rescate’, *Liwen* 2 (1990), pp. 36-40.

¹²¹ Elizabeth Neira, ‘Poesía mapuche: el lamento ancestral’, *El Mercurio* (13th June 1997), p. E17.

first book *El invierno y su imagen* was written entirely in Spanish, hence it became known as his “black book”, demonstrative, he claims, of his alienation from the dominant system.¹²² Now he writes in both Mapuzungun and Spanish. In this sense, his work – and that of Lienlaf, which has always been written in both languages – has revitalised Mapuzungun. Coinciding with the Ministry of Education’s (albeit limited) intercultural and bilingual education programme, their poetry now appears in school textbooks in both its Spanish and Mapuzungun form, and these are not textbooks just for Mapuche children, but for all children in Chilean state schools. In terms of looking at what is gained rather than lost, it is also worth noting that most writers who are not bilingual still include many Mapuzungun words or phrases in their verses. In *Ul: Four Mapuche Poets*, Vicuña highlighted Huenún’s verses as an example of this practice, thereby focusing on the ways in which the native language was present rather than absent.¹²³

For Lienlaf, poetry has meant “the right to express myself in my own language”.¹²⁴ Fluent in both languages, his use of Mapuzungun – which only a limited number of people can understand – can be understood as part of a bigger question of ‘cultural control’. Literary critics such as Hugo Carrasco are familiar with the work of Bonfil Batalla, but they do not seem to have fully assimilated the idea that Mapuche writers can subvert power relations through the use of Mapuzungun. André Menard, to the contrary, has underscored precisely this aspect of Mapuche political leader Manuel Aburto Panguilef’s unedited manuscripts (1940s-1950s). Panguilef was reportedly unconcerned about offering an exact Spanish translation of the original Mapuzungun version.¹²⁵ Like Panguilef, Lienlaf and Chihuailaf can communicate whichever part of their Mapuzungun verses they choose.

Bilingual poets are also in full control of their Spanish literary production. Chihuailaf and Lienlaf have written in Spanish because it serves their purposes. As

¹²² Quoted in Vicuña, *Ul: Four Mapuche Poets*, p. 24.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹²⁴ Lienlaf, quoted on www.ulmapu.cl.

Lienlaf once said, “I realised if I spoke it well [...] I could denounce the situation of my people.”¹²⁶ As with the written word, it is not so much a case of the Spanish language being imposed on writers but, rather, of their having appropriated the dominant society’s tools to protest about the injustices committed against their people by this society (or at least part of it). Studying the work of urban poet David Añinir, Alex Donato Guzmán has convincingly reinforced the idea that poets are able, even in Spanish, to undermine power relations.¹²⁷ Añinir’s verses are written in Spanish, but this is often mixed with Mapuzungun in an ingenious way, using the slang of Santiago’s *barrios populares* to modify the socially accepted and dominant version of Spanish. For example, *Mapuchemas* are Mapuche poems, *mapunky* refers to Mapuche musicality imbued with urban (and global) rhythms and the *mapurbe* is “Mapuche-cised” Santiago. Donato Guzmán’s interpretation offers a stark contrast to the view of the Mapuche woman in Valparaíso, who emphasised only the negative aspects of writing and reciting poetry in Spanish. Moreover, if one of literature’s basic tasks is to communicate – a point on which the poets discussed here agree – it makes sense for it to be written in Spanish. Using this language, poets can communicate with more people, making their verse more politically effective. Their work is not aimed only at a Mapuche audience, most of whom cannot speak Mapuzungun in any case, but at Chilean society as a whole. Indeed, Mapuche poetry now has a global readership, having been translated into a variety of other languages as well as Spanish. The difference here, though, is that the authors have no control over the English, Finnish, Italian and German versions.

The urban experience

Mass migration from the rural communities to Chile’s urban centres began in the 1930s and has continued to this day, yet – as remarked earlier in my thesis – this version of Mapuche reality has only recently attracted the attention of academics and politicians. One of the reasons Queupul’s poetry represented a significant turning

¹²⁵ Andre Menard, ‘Manuel Aburto Panguilef: De la república indígena al sionismo mapuche’, Working Paper Series 12, Nuke Mapu (2003). This can be found on www.soc.uu.se.

¹²⁶ *El Mercurio* (26th November 1989), supplement, p. 7.

point in Mapuche literary production was its focus, as many critics have understood it, on the urban experience. Chihuailaf and Lienlaf's poetry also reflects a preoccupation with this theme. Barrenechea, for example, has examined Chihuailaf's construction of an oppositional relationship between the city and the countryside. To her mind, Chihuailaf's poetry emphasises the positive aspects of the rural world: its beauty, smells, sounds, the notions of fertility or creative process with which it is associated, the change in the seasons.¹²⁸ For this reason, nature and the rural landscape which it inhabits constitute part of the positive energy embodied in the poet's *Sueños azules*.¹²⁹ In contrast, the city and its comparative lack of natural elements constitute one of Chihuailaf's *contrasueños*. Moens, building on Hugo Carrasco's work, described how in Chihuailaf's verses the city was associated with sorrow, personal loss and frustration.¹³⁰ Such sentiments have also been noted in Lienlaf's work, particularly the poem 'Confusion', which reads: "In search of my mind my thoughts/ wander/ between the walls of cold/ illuminated buildings./ My mouth runs after its words/ as they fly away, and I stay here/ with nothing, without understanding."¹³¹

References to land, nature and the rural community abound in the poetry of Chihuailaf and Lienlaf and there is certainly a tension between this and their (largely) urban lives.¹³² At the time of my last trip to Chile in 2003 Chihuailaf and Lienlaf were constantly moving between the two environments: Chihuailaf lived in Temuco, where he taught and where his family was based, but spent as much time as possible in the countryside.¹³³ As a result of his literary pursuits, Lienlaf was frequently travelling to Temuco, Concepción, Santiago and other cities, but had a house in Licanray, two hours from Temuco, en route to the Argentine border. He

¹²⁷ Donato Guzman, 'Reinvención y recreación de la identidad cultural de los mapuches urbanos...', p. 144.

¹²⁸ Barrenechea, 'Usos y mecanismos literarios...', p. 66.

¹²⁹ Antonio Avario, 'El idealismo mágico de un poeta mapuche y chileno', *El Mercurio*, Suplemento (21st September 1996), p. 2.

¹³⁰ Moens, 'La poesía mapuche', p. 69.

¹³¹ Translated into English by Vicuña, *Ul: Four Mapuche poets*, p. 202.

¹³² Carolina Ferreira, 'Elicura Chihuailaf, poeta mapuche: Exiliado en la ciudad', *La Nación* (19th March 2000), pp. 8-9.

¹³³ Interview, Elicura Chihuailaf, Temuco, 21st January 2003.

also went to his parents' community whenever he had the opportunity.¹³⁴ For Chihuilaf it is all a question of balance: "the good does not exist without the bad" he told the reader in his poem 'Sueño azul' (from *De Sueños azules y contrasueños*). In an article published by Mapuche cultural review *Liwen*, he elaborated on this idea: "In the city the light of the old fire has gone out, but a new fire of friendship has been sparked."¹³⁵ The urban setting has become a contemporary means of survival for the Mapuche, a "path that has to be considered if we do not want to be defeated forever as a people".¹³⁶

Even though he highlights the positive aspects of the urban environment, it is still the rural community and natural landscape which appear to form an intrinsic part of Mapuche cultural identity for Chihuilaf. His poetry points to the possibility of urban Mapuche living their relationship with the land through memory, even if they do not live this relationship as part of their everyday reality.¹³⁷ According to Chihuilaf's way of thinking, a close relationship with the land is inevitable wherever a Mapuche lives because "we have lived for several millenia sharing our lives with nature, because we are part of the land."¹³⁸

The poetry of David Añinir and Cesar Millahueique offers a very different perspective on the urban experience. They represent a new generation of Mapuche poets, although not so much in terms of age, but rather in the timing of their introduction (via written publications or poetry recitals) to Santiago's literary scene. Whereas Chihuilaf and Lienlaf produced mainstream publications in the late 1980s, Añinir and Millahueique began to gain recognition in the late 1990s. More significantly, Añinir was born in Santiago and has lived there all his life. Millahueique (Mapuche-Huilliche) was born in the rural community of Curanilahue

¹³⁴ I was able to visit Lienlaf in Licanray on my last research trip to Chile in September 2003.

¹³⁵ Chihuilaf, 'Poesía mapuche actual...', pp. 36-40.

¹³⁶ Chihuilaf, *Recado confidencial*, p. 28.

¹³⁷ See 'Aún sueño estar en esta valle' and Sara McFall's analysis of this poem. Sara McFall, 'Keeping Identity in its Place: Culture and Politics among the Mapuche of Chile', PhD Thesis (Oxford, 1998), pp. 103-106.

¹³⁸ Chihuilaf, *Recado confidencial*, pp. 101-2

in the tenth region, but at three months old moved to the city of Osorno and now lives in Santiago.

In the poetry of Añinir, namely his collection of poems entitled 'Mapurbe', we do find occasional reference to the loss of land ("yes, its sad to have no land", reads 'Mari Juana de la Pintana'). However, his verses are firmly rooted in his and many other Mapuche people's urban reality, and are expressly directed at an urban Mapuche readership. He focuses on the violence, discrimination, poverty, exploitation and alcoholism that have become part of the daily lives of many Mapuche in Santiago. This is most aptly expressed in one of his untitled poems: "Somos mapuche de hormigón/ debajo del asfalto duerme nuestra madre explotada por el patrón/ nacimos en la mierdapolis por culpa del buitres cantor/ nacimos en las panaderías para que nos come la maldición."¹³⁹ In 'Mari Juana de la Pintana' Añinir described the miserable life of a Mapuche woman in one of the poorest areas of Santiago: "you are the Mapuche "girl" of an unregistered brand/ of the cold and solitary corner addicted to "that" vice." (The word "girl" is in English in the original version). Mari Juana – an obvious play on words, both Mapuzungun and Spanish – is not the typical or so-called "traditional" Mapuche person, but rather someone who does whatever she can in order to survive, like many other women in Santiago be they Mapuche or non-Mapuche. In this sense, Añinir's poetry is more easily related to other sectors of Chilean society than are the verses of Chihuilaf or Lienlaf; social and economic marginalisation are by no means exclusive to Mapuche people.

There is more explicit anger in the poetry of Añinir than in that of Chihuilaf and Lienlaf. He employs harsher language (the "shit city", "the most whorish mother") and engages in a more virulent attack against those institutions he perceives as the agents of injustice, such as the police and the Catholic Church. In Chihuilaf readers

¹³⁹ The poem is reproduced in Donato Guzmán, 'Reinvención y recreación de la identidad cultural de los mapuches urbanos...', p. 142. I have left the verses in Spanish in the text, as it is very difficult to retain the rhyme and the powerful impact of the words in a translated version. In English the poem reads: "We are the Mapuche of the concrete city/ under the asphalt our mother sleeps, exploited by the boss/ we were born in this shit city because of the singing scrounger/ we were born in the bakeries so that the bitterness can eat away at us."

find abstract notions of “losing one’s soul” in the city whereas in Añinir they discover the verbal and physical abuse Mapuche suffer at the hands of Santiago’s police. In the poem ‘Traces upon my brow’ Lienlaf wrote of a cross that “...severed/ my head/ and a sword that blessed me before I died.”¹⁴⁰ Añinir offered a far more direct criticism of Church complicity with the establishment in his controversial reworking of the Lord’s Prayer: “Padre nuestro que estás en el suelo/ putreficado, petrificado sea tu nombre/ Venganos de los que viven en las faldas de La Reina y Las Condes/ hagase señor tu unanime voluntad/ asi como lo hacen las fascistas en la tierra/ y los pacos en la comisaría.”¹⁴¹ In summary, Añinir’s sarcasm and multilingual play on words demonstrates a more explicit engagement with the hypocrisy and double standards of the dominant discourses on the Mapuche.

By allocating an important role to modern communications technology and playing with a mixture of languages, Cesar Millahueique, like Añinir, illustrates the process of transculturation experienced by many Mapuche in the metropolis.¹⁴² His book *Profecía en blanco y negro* (1998) was a poetic journey through different scenes of Santiago, trying to come to terms with the arbitrariness of having survived the brutal military dictatorship when so many others did not. Millahueique himself was arrested and tortured by secret police agents, losing his right eye in the process. The book included several images of people being tortured (“beating the testicles of a man who hangs in hell itself”) as well as evocative allusions to the workings of the state propaganda machine, and a violent sexual imagery predominates throughout. The experience of living in Santiago under the dictatorship was one shared by Mapuche and non-Mapuche people. Towards the end of Millahueique’s imaginary journey several references were made to his southern Mapuche roots (“the eternal

¹⁴⁰ ‘Traces upon my brow’, translated by Vicuña, *Ul: Four Mapuche poets*, p. 63.

¹⁴¹ Again, the poem has been left in its original version so as to not to lose Añinir’s play on words. In English it would read: “Our Father who art in the ground/ putrified, petrified be thy name/ Protect us against those who live sheltered in La Reina and Las Condes/ thy will be done/ as it is by the fascists on earth/ and the pigs at the police station.” (La Reina and Las Condes are upper middle-class districts of Santiago.) The poem was not written under Pinochet but seems to be referring to the 1980s, although in part Añinir alludes to the idea that for many people, particularly the poor, little has changed since re-democratisation.

¹⁴² Cesar Millahueique, *Profecía en blanco o negro: o las 125 líneas de un vuelo* (Santiago: Talleres Gráfico el Arte, 1998).

drizzle”, “the turquoise rivers”, images of the *kultrún*, the *machi* and the “ecstasy of *nguillatún*”), possibly pointing to the idea that the nightmare of the dictatorship was truly over. However, he has often stressed that what he writes is not “indigenous literature” but “literature written by an indigenous person”.¹⁴³

The work of Añinir and Millahueique cannot be found in Santiago’s mainstream bookshops. Añinir’s poetry remains unpublished in print, although it is frequently read at poetry recitals, greatly praised in the bibliographical study produced by Antillanca, Cuminao and Loncón and readily available on the Internet. Millahueique published *Profecía en blanco y negro*, but at his own cost, so it was a relatively low-key production.¹⁴⁴ Fragments of this book can also be found in a recent anthology of Mapuche-Huilliche poetry entitled *El canto luminoso a la tierra*.¹⁴⁵ To date there appears to have been little or no reference to these authors in Chilean newspapers and no academic study has been undertaken of their work, with the exception of an unpublished PhD thesis by Alex Donato Guzmán, which looks in part at Añinir.¹⁴⁶ It is telling that Hugo and Iván Carrasco have made no mention of either writer in their studies on Mapuche poetry. Given that their literary talent is widely acknowledged by other Mapuche and very popular among students and the literary community in Santiago, one can only venture that such a lack of “official” recognition results from the more problematic (less “traditional”) images of Mapuche-ness projected by Añinir and Millahueique. These poets do not hark back to glorious times of old, to the noble warrior, to the rural community; they are, instead, part of what José Ancán has called the “urban obscurity”.¹⁴⁷ They do not produce bilingual poetry, although Añinir has written several fragments of his work in Mapuzungun. Moreover, Añinir has been involved with Coordinadora Arauco Malleco (one of the most radical Mapuche organisations, several of whose members are currently being held in prison

¹⁴³ Interview, Cesar Millahueique, *Consejo de Monumentos Nacionales*, Santiago, 6th February 2003.

¹⁴⁴ This was also the case for his second book *Daguerrotipos para todas las historias del mundo*.

¹⁴⁵ Bernardo Colipán, Jaime Huenún, Cesar Millahueique and Paulo Wirimilla, *Canto luminoso a la tierra: Wilüfelkatun mapuche. Cuatro mapuches williches* (Santiago: Editores Serindígena, 2001).

¹⁴⁶ Searching through newspapers and magazines in the *Archivo de Referencias Críticas* at the National Library in Santiago I found only one reference to Añinir (see ‘Poeta del barrio’, *El Mercurio*, 27th August 1998), and nothing on Millahueique. See also Guzmán, ‘Reinvención y recreación...’, op. cit.

on charges of terrorism). At the opposite end of the scale, Millahueique works for the government's Consejo de Monumentos Nacionales. Either way, whether working for the state or actively fighting against it, the reality communicated by their poetry is more confusing – and perhaps more disturbing – than that found in the verses of Chihuilaf and Lienlaf. As Vicente Ruíz, who works on native language programmes in urban areas, recently commented: “Not for nothing have the winners of both indigenous peoples’ poetry competitions been from places far away from the metropolitan region.”¹⁴⁸

The distinct lack of academic and media attention received by Añinir and Millahueique could also be explained by the amount of violence and anger found in their work. Both poets started writing slightly later than Chihuilaf and Lienlaf (in the late 1990s) at a time of widespread disillusionment with the achievements of democracy, particularly as regards indigenous peoples, poverty and human rights. The poetry of Añinir and Millahueique is representative of this frustration, which affected and affects not only the Mapuche, but also a large proportion of Chilean society as a whole. The “ethnic” has refused to be kept in its place, engaging with class politics and confronting the dominant system, whilst also – in Millahueique’s case – working within this system. Such imagery does not fit in with the traditional stereotype of indigenous peoples as passive victims of modernity, “at one” with nature and so forth. The version of “Mapuche-ness” projected by Añinir and Millahueique is more threatening. Unsurprisingly, few Chileans know about it: their poetry is not reviewed in the press and their books are not available in high street bookshops.

The construction of utopias

Añinir and Millahueique present reality, as they see it, for thousands of Mapuche in Chile’s capital city. In contrast, Chihuilaf and Lienlaf focus on what life was like for the Mapuche in the past (recovering the memory of their ancestors) and what life

¹⁴⁷ José Ancán, ‘Urban Mapuche: Reflections on a Modern Reality in Chile’.

¹⁴⁸ See www.soc.uu.se/mapuche/news/merc020602.htm.

should be like for their people in the future. In short, they construct certain utopias around which to base the future regeneration of Mapuche culture and society. While Añinir and Millahueique tell a story of poverty and marginalisation common to many Mapuche and non-Mapuche, the utopian discourses of Lienlaf and Chihuailaf often underline the particularity of the Mapuche situation, the idea that the Mapuche have been and will always be intrinsically different to Chileans. According to Hugo Carrasco, Lienlaf especially “constructs his utopia in open opposition to Chilean society.”¹⁴⁹ The recovery of their historical territory and cultural and political autonomy are seen as fundamental to this discourse.¹⁵⁰ Discussing Chihuailaf’s “ideal society”, Hugo Carrasco underlines the importance of Mapuzungun and a system whereby people and nature live in harmony.¹⁵¹ It is also a world coloured blue, a factor recognised by academics, journalists and Chihuailaf himself.¹⁵² Blue is linked to Mapuche society’s relationship with nature: it represents, among other things, elements such as the sky and water, or more specifically a clear sky and clean water.

Chihuailaf’s image of “Mapuche-ness” has been criticised by many people, particularly other Mapuche artists and intellectuals. Some believe that he has sold out, that his work perpetuates a noble savage myth, which only serves to ignore the real problems faced by so many Mapuche people today. Looked at from a different perspective, however, this appropriation of the “nature discourse” has helped to reassert a distinctive Mapuche identity in opposition to assimilationist discourses of “Chilean-ness” and to protest against private development projects (supported by the state) which threaten the survival of several Mapuche communities in southern Chile. In this way, it could be interpreted as a form of strategic essentialism. Mapuche poets are not unaware of the implications of the images they create or re-create. Many indigenous organisations throughout Latin America have made effective use of similar images and discourses. Neither is the “nature discourse”

¹⁴⁹ Hugo Carrasco, ‘Rasgos identitarios’, p. 96.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 98

entirely new but rather a revamped version of discursive strategies used before. André Menard has compared it to the political discourse of Panguilef in the 1940s, arguing that the indianist mysticism of the ecologically conscious Mapuche simply replaced the mysticism of the glorious past and its traditions.¹⁵³ Even Huenún, openly critical of Chihuailaf at times, cannot ignore the potent symbolism of land and nature, and its contemporary relevance to the ecological debate; indeed, it is central to some of his own poetry.¹⁵⁴

Hugo Carrasco has claimed that Chihuailaf and Lienlaf aim to recreate a “pure, pristine and primordial” Mapuche society.¹⁵⁵ From what they themselves have said about their poetry however, it seems more likely that they are aware of the uses of such images but do not try to impose these on present-day Mapuche communities, because they are also aware of their limitations. They play with this imagery, which is not quite the same as promoting it. Indeed, Chihuailaf has explicitly rejected the notion of an uncontaminated or “pure” Mapuche identity, fully aware that new and different identities are always being reconstructed. More importantly, he acknowledges the role played by literature in this process: according to Chihuailaf, his verses do not merely represent identities but also generate them.¹⁵⁶

A lugar de encuentro?

While the poetry often insists on a distinctive ethnic or national Mapuche identity, both the critical literature and authors’ response to this literature make it clear that the poetry does not completely separate the Mapuche from Chilean society. On the contrary, it has been interpreted as a move towards an *encuentro* between the two cultures.¹⁵⁷ This is particularly true of Añinir and Millahueique’s poetry, which deals

¹⁵² Veronica Moreno, ‘Elicura Chihuailaf sueña en azul’, *El Diario Austral* (18th April 1993); Chihuailaf, *Todos los cantos*.

¹⁵³ Menard, ‘Manuel Aburto Panguilef...’

¹⁵⁴ Vicuña, *Ul: Four Mapuche poets*, p. 90.

¹⁵⁵ Hugo Carrasco, ‘Rasgos identitarios...’, p. 98.

¹⁵⁶ Vicuña, *Ul: Four Mapuche poets*, p. 25.

¹⁵⁷ Ximena Poo, ‘Elicura Chihuailaf: entre versos azules y el encuentro cultural’, *La Epoca* (30th November 1994); Eduardo Henríquez, ‘Una puerta a la conversación’, *El Diario Austral* (26th August 1996); Ivan Carrasco, ‘La poesía etnocultural: Modelo de una sociedad en diálogo’, *Lengua y Literatura* 8 (1998).

with problems such as poverty, social injustice and political persecution that affect many people in Chile, indeed everywhere. While less obvious, there are also universal themes to be found in the poetry of Chihuilaf and Lienlaf: love is prominent throughout, especially in relation to the loss of family or friends.¹⁵⁸ Expressions of sorrow and pain – the result of violent confrontation and repression – are also present. The situation of the Mapuche in modern Chile provides the specific context, but the feelings expressed – the suffering incurred through political, social and territorial conflict – are relevant to many different peoples in the world. Given the prevalence of such themes and the fact that the poems of Chihuilaf and Lienlaf have been translated into many different languages, it seems their public discourse is not only relevant to but also clearly aimed at an international audience.

While the close relationship with land and nature is perceived by some as “truly” Mapuche it is also an important element in the work of many non-Mapuche Chilean intellectuals, such as Gabriela Mistral, Pablo Neruda and Benjamín Subercaseaux. Moreover, the writings of Chihuilaf and Lienlaf have raised questions regarding historical events that Mapuche and non-Mapuche have lived through together. Chihuilaf, for example, has explicitly linked the “Pacification of Araucanía” in 1883 to the “Pacification of Chileans” ninety years later.¹⁵⁹ The Mapuche, he stressed, were not the only ones to be excluded from the military government’s national project.

Chihuilaf described his *Recado confidencial* as a “search for dialogue” with Chilean civil society.¹⁶⁰ He has also stated that not all Chileans are “huincas” (traitors, liars, or thieves), arguing that Mapuche and Chileans have many things in common. Lienlaf likewise has prioritised communication over confrontation, proposing “a dialogue through art” in order to transcend the “violence of daily

¹⁵⁸ See poems ‘*La nostalgia es la luna menguante*’ by Chihuilaf and ‘*Poema a la lluvia*’ by Lienlaf.

¹⁵⁹ Chihuilaf, *Recado confidencial*, p. 71.

¹⁶⁰ See *La Nación* (19th March 2000), pp. 8-9.

language”, the “discriminatory violence used by both peoples”.¹⁶¹ The poets have often intimated that such willingness to dialogue with Chilean (and global) civil society does not mean they are prepared to make similar efforts with the state. Chihuailaf’s *Recado confidencial* made this quite clear. However, their work has been officially recognised by the state, they have participated in state projects and received funding from state entities.¹⁶² Chihuailaf was even invited to the *Fiesta Cultural* organised by President Lagos soon after his inauguration. Chihuailaf and Lienlaf openly attack what they see as the racist discourse and practices – both historical and contemporary – of the Chilean state, yet they are also aware of the advantages of negotiating with it.

That literature can act as some sort of “meeting point” between different cultures is also given credence by the many cases of Mapuche and non-Mapuche writers working together. Raúl Zurita helped Lienlaf with the Spanish version of the poems in *Se ha despertado el ave en mi corazón* and wrote the prologue to the book. Lienlaf has also worked on several publications with Carlos Aldunate and Pedro Mege Rosso at the Chilean Museum of Pre-Columbian Art. Chihuailaf co-produced the literary review *Poesía Diaria* (Temuco) with Chilean poet and novelist Guido Eytel, and has made many references to other Chilean intellectuals in his work, such as Jorge Teulier, Gabriela Mistral, Pablo Neruda, Volodia Teitelboim and Jaime Valdivieso.¹⁶³ Their voices are included, actively incorporated into the debate via his verses and poetic prose. There have also been many workshops and poetry recitals in which both Mapuche and non-Mapuche authors have participated, such as the ‘Primer encuentro de oralitores mapuches y escritores chilenos’ in Temuco (1994) and the recent ‘Encuentro de poetas mapuches y chilenos’ in Santiago (2003). Here again the state had a role to play, sponsoring the latter event via the Universidad de Chile and the Biblioteca Nacional.

¹⁶¹ Interview with José Osorio (11th August 2003) published on www.ulmapu.cl See also *La Nación* (27th January 1998) which described his compact disc as a “search for a meeting place”.

¹⁶² Lienlaf’s compact disc *Canto y poesía mapuche* (1998) was part funded by DIBAM and the ‘Taller Sudamericana de Escritores en Lenguas Indígenas’ in which both Lienlaf and Chihuailaf participated, in April 1997, was funded by the state entity ‘Fondo Nacional del Libro y la Lectura’.

One of the Chilean writers referred to most often by Chihuailaf is Nobel laureate and national icon Gabriela Mistral (1889-1957). He has praised her essays and her poetry, particularly 'Beber' (in *Tala*), because he felt this poem – in which she described seeing the face of an Indian reflected in hers when looking into a well – best illustrated Mistral's willingness to assume her own indigenous identity.¹⁶⁴ In *Recado confidencial* – possibly a conscious echo of her own *Recados contando a Chile* – Chihuailaf held Mistral up as proof that a dialogue between Chilean and Mapuche cultures was possible.¹⁶⁵ Through literature he had learnt of Mistral's attitude towards indigenous peoples; similarly, she had – according to Mapuche literary critics Antillanca and Loncón – discovered the cultural heritage of Mapuche people by listening to recordings of their poetic song.¹⁶⁶ More revealing of this dialogue through literature, however, was Chihuailaf's appropriation of Mistralian discourse to support his criticisms of Chilean state policy. In *Recado confidencial* he directly quoted Mistral to denounce the repressive actions of this state: "Neither writers, nor artists, nor intellectuals, nor students, can fulfil their task of expanding spiritual horizons, if the threat of the armed forces, the police state which seeks to direct [and control], weighs over them."¹⁶⁷ He thus used Mistral's attack against the Ibáñez government of the 1950s to reinforce his condemnation of the Concertación government (or at least elements of it) in the late 1990s.

Possibly the most telling example of an *encuentro*, however, is to be found in *Todos los cantos* or *TI KOM VL* (1996), a book of forty-four poems by Neruda, translated into Mapuzungun by Chihuailaf. While several of the poems Chihuailaf chose to translate were dedicated to the Mapuche, such as 'Bío Bío', 'Toqui Caupolicán' and 'Educación del Cacique' from *Canto General*, most were based on universal themes such as nature or love. He also included a poem entitled 'Poesía' – Neruda's description of what poetry meant for him and how he came to write it. Chihuailaf

¹⁶³ See especially *Sueños azules y contrasueños* (1995) and *Recado confidencial a los chilenos* (1999).

¹⁶⁴ Interview with Willy Haltenhoff, *El Divisadero* (10th October 2000), p. 6.

¹⁶⁵ Chihuailaf, *Recado confidencial*, pp. 13-14.

¹⁶⁶ Ariel Antillanca and César Loncón, *Entre el mito y la realidad: El pueblo mapuche en la literatura chilena* (Santiago: Ediciones LOM, 1998), pp. 194-199.

chose these poems because they “show [Neruda’s] personal knowledge of and his agreement with our Mapuche view of the world”.¹⁶⁸ By translating his poems into Mapuzungun, one could argue that Chihuailaf appropriated Neruda for the Mapuche ‘cause’. Previously he had communicated Mapuche poetry to Chileans; he then did the reverse, communicating Chilean poetry to Mapuche readers in their native language. In this way, he demonstrated that Mapuche and non-Mapuche could understand one another through poetry. This publication greatly increased Chihuailaf’s exposure in official circles: in September 2000, he was invited to *La Sebastiana* (Neruda’s home) in Valparaíso to join in the celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of *Canto General* and in 2002 his translation of ‘Poesía’ appeared in the aforementioned ‘Language and Literature’ school textbook.

Mapuche poetic discourse calls for the recognition of Chile as a multiethnic, multicultural, even multinational society. According to Iván Carrasco, poets have been relatively successful in the first two instances. Examining Mapuche poetry’s impact on Chilean literature, he highlighted the way in which the latter has incorporated the Mapuche language as well as Mapuche perspectives on events.¹⁶⁹ Arauco Chihuailaf has also noted this consequence of Mapuche poetry’s mass circulation: “the poetry is there to remind us of the diversity of Chilean culture.”¹⁷⁰ He emphasised the Mapuche’s place within this diversity: “Mapuche poetry is an expression of a people’s identity and cultural heritage, but it is equally one of the ingredients of Chilean culture.”¹⁷¹ Mapuche poetry has become part of a new and more diverse Chilean poetry. It has become nationalised: poets have been awarded national literary awards, they have travelled to conferences abroad as representatives of Chile,¹⁷² and newspapers often highlight their dual status as both Chilean and

¹⁶⁷ Chihuailaf, *Recado confidencial*, op. cit.

¹⁶⁸ Chihuailaf, prologue to *Todos los cantos* (Santiago: Editores Pehuén, 1996).

¹⁶⁹ Iván Carrasco, ‘Los estudios mapuches ...’.

¹⁷⁰ Arauco Chihuailaf, ‘Poesía mapuche actual’, p. 5.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁷² In 1997, for example, Lorenzo Aillapán (“Hombre Pájaro”) attended the *Festival de Medellín* in Colombia. See ‘Poesía mapuche vuela a Colombia’, *El Diario Austral* (8th June 1997), p. A13.

Mapuche.¹⁷³ Hence, despite their perceived efforts to defend Mapuche cultural autonomy, the poets have instead or rather concurrently carved a place for themselves within a revised – more inclusive – version of “Chilean-ness”.

A limited *encuentro*?

While Mapuche and Chilean identities may seem to come together within the poetry it is important to note that neither Lienlaf nor Chihuailaf consider themselves to be Chilean: for them, finding things in common with Chileans is not the same as being Chilean. Similarly, co-existence, which they enthusiastically promote, is very different to integration. Whilst acknowledging that they live “between two worlds” or are “inhabited by different cultures”, they stress their sense of belonging to Mapuche society and their people’s own national status. They proclaim the existence of the *nación mapuche*, mainly in the sense of a separate cultural community but also one that demands special political and social rights. The situation is rather different for Jaime Huenún, a *mestizo* with a Mapuche-Huilliche father and a Chilean (*criollo*) mother.¹⁷⁴ He clearly assumes his Chilean “side”, affirming his Mapuche-Huilliche identity but as part of a larger Chilean whole.

Because the poetry of Chihuailaf and Lienlaf testifies to their sense of belonging to Mapuche society, critics such as Iván Carrasco have continually referred to their literary production as “ethnocultural poetry” or “ethno-literature”.¹⁷⁵ Chihuailaf finds such categorisation offensive: “To me this business of the “ethno” is becoming a stigma, another way of minimising, stereotyping...”¹⁷⁶ Mapuche poetry is thus recognised as part of the Chilean literary canon, but relegated to its margins. Being widely acclaimed at a national and international level for asserting their ethnic

¹⁷³ Antonio Avaria, ‘El idealismo de un poeta mapuche y chileno’, *El Mercurio* (21st September 1996), p. 2; Virginia Vidal, ‘Poetas de las fronteras’, *El Punto Final* (8th August 1997), p. 19.

¹⁷⁴ Huenún has been mentioned on numerous occasions throughout this chapter, mainly due to his commentaries on Mapuche poetry. Indeed, there are few other Mapuche literary critics to refer to. He is an acclaimed writer himself with two publications: *Ceremonias de amor* (1999) and *Puerto Trakl* (2001).

¹⁷⁵ Iván Carrasco, ‘Etnoliteratura mapuche y literatura chilena: relaciones’ *Actas de Lengua y Literatura Mapuche* 4 (1990); ‘La poesía etnocultural: modelo de una sociedad en dialogo’, *Lengua y Literatura* 8 (1998).

¹⁷⁶ Marcelo Sanchez, ‘Nosotros somos parte del infinito’, *El Sur* (6th August 1999), p. 12.

identity also means that the poets are held up as representatives of their communities, indeed of the entire Mapuche population. If universal themes or new literary mechanisms are incorporated into their poetry, the writers' "Mapuche-ness" is somehow called in to question. Hugo Carrasco, for example, once referred to Lienlaf and Chihuailaf as "isolated individuals that [were] only partly representative of the Mapuche community."¹⁷⁷ In saying this, he seemed to imply that if writers strayed from the image of poor, rural, illiterate people they were no longer "truly" Mapuche.

It is by no means only literary critics that raise these problems: many Mapuche themselves have questioned the poets' ability and right to represent their communities. Rural organisations have complained about poetry's over-romanticised picture of the rural community, its failure to acknowledge the economic, as well as spiritual importance of communal land. Students at the *Hogar Mapuche* in Temuco recently explained how they found Lienlaf and Chihuailaf's poetry entirely irrelevant to their daily lives and useless to their struggle.¹⁷⁸ Not wanting to shy away from the debate, Chihuailaf brings it into his verses: 'La llave que nadie ha perdido', which described how he was inspired to write poetry, was directed at those in his community who questioned its uses as well as its validity. More significantly, Chihuailaf and Lienlaf have categorically rejected their role as representatives. Chihuailaf explained: "I never stop being an individual person. Of course, I belong to a culture but I am also [...] a manifestation of its diversity. I do not seek to represent anybody."¹⁷⁹ Lienlaf described his predicament in a similar fashion: "Instead of representing [my culture] I belong to it, I am an expression of it."¹⁸⁰ They write as part of a collective, but as individuals within this collective, and if they consider themselves representative of anything it is the latter's diversity. This is seemingly lost on many literary critics.

¹⁷⁷ Hugo Carrasco, 'Poesía mapuche actual...', p. 85.

¹⁷⁸ Personal conversations at the 'Hogar Mapuche' (Mapuche halls of residence), Temuco, 31st July-2nd August 2003.

¹⁷⁹ Luis de Barra, *El Arte en la Región de la Araucanía* (Temuco: Ediciones Universidad de la Frontera, 1996) p. 298.

¹⁸⁰ Margarita Cea, 'Cuando la poesía es mapuche', *Análisis* (13th-19th August 1990), p.39.

Conclusion

Whether they like it or not, poets such as Chihuailaf and Lienlaf have been elevated to a position from which they seem to speak for all Mapuche in terms of getting access to public spaces, disseminating their work and finding the necessary funding for their projects. There are not many poets working with mainstream publishing houses, crowned with international literary awards or regularly interviewed by the national press. One could therefore argue that a few token Mapuche figures have been called upon to act as an alibi against ethnic marginalisation in Chile.¹⁸¹ They are allowed to publicly promote their right to difference, a difference which the poetry attempts to reformulate, showing how Mapuche culture adapts and changes over time. Yet – as shown by the critical literature – it is precisely the elements that do not change which are brought to the public's attention: orality, ancestral memories, the native language and so forth. In this way, the poets' work is incorporated into and thus appropriated by dominant identity discourses: a romanticised, static version of "Mapuche-ness" is invoked to avow Chile's uniqueness in an increasingly globalised world, yet the problems of the present are conveniently sidelined.

While the increased diffusion of Mapuche poetry suggests an "official" recognition of Chile's cultural and ethnic diversity, the state still refuses to acknowledge the Mapuche as a nation or a people. Prepared to go only so far in its recognition of difference, the state has managed to co-opt these authors' verses, taking the part that suits its identity discourses best: the "traditional" rustic Mapuche, remembering the glorious history of their ancestors on the battlefields. There is room for this type of Mapuche in the multicultural Chilean nation. Indeed, some poets have taken full advantage of the space opened up to them. Chihuailaf, for example, criticises the way in which Mapuche poetry has been pigeon-holed by academics and makes a bid for cosmopolitanism, yet it is precisely because he can exploit the "ethnic ticket" that he is able to travel to conferences abroad and publicise his work internationally.

¹⁸¹ In elaborating this idea, I draw upon the work of Gayatri Spivak. See Sarah Harasym, *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues* (London: Routledge, 1990).

Such ironies highlight the inadequacy of the dichotomy of dominant and dominated. However, it is important not to lose sight of the larger picture. There is far less room in multicultural Chile for those writers involved in radical left-wing political organisations, for those who seek territorial autonomy, for those that live in urban centres and do not speak Mapuzungun. Indeed, many Mapuche poets find themselves in some kind of no-man's land: some are not "Mapuche" enough, others are too "subversive" to fit in with the image of order and political consensus on which dominant myths of Chilean nationality have been based.

CONCLUSION

Being Seen but not Heard: The “Mapuche Question” in a Broader Context

My thesis neither challenges the strength of the conservative view of history in twentieth-century Chile nor refutes the idea that dominant discourses of nationhood have largely excluded the Mapuche. Undeniably, the role allocated to contemporary Mapuche communities, organisations and individuals in the national narratives presented by Eyzaguirre and Villalobos, the history curriculum under both Frei-Montalva and Pinochet, and the permanent exhibition at the Museo Histórico Nacional was severely limited. *Mestizaje* – the master narrative of *chilenidad* – was, for the main part, officially promoted as a modernising ideology, which aimed to assimilate (and thereby ultimately eliminate) so-called “ethnic minorities”. All this notwithstanding, however, the dominance of such discourses did not mean they were wholly consistent in their articulation and practice and many historical studies fail to stress this point fully enough. The teaching guidelines introduced during the Christian Democrat government, for example, denied that Chile was part of the region’s problem of ethnic integration, but acknowledged the presence and marginalisation of Mapuche communities in the south. They also encouraged teachers to read work by academics who clearly did accept (or at least debate) the indigenous component of Chile’s identity. During the Pinochet dictatorship the school curriculum firmly relegated the Mapuche, who were referred to only in the past tense, to Chile’s pre-history and the Minister of Agriculture categorically stated that there were no “Indians” left in Chile in the late 1970s. Yet during the same period articles from the *Revista de Educación* and bilingual education programmes highlighted the continued existence of Mapuche people in the country and their distinctive identity.

By looking at the detail of these dominant discourses of nationhood and analysing the context of their elaboration and their reception, one also notes other more subtle paradoxes. Eyzaguirre refuted the idea that the Mapuche had any input into Chilean

nationality, indeed, he even rejected the relevance of *mestizaje* to twentieth-century Chile, but the vehemence of his attack suggested that there were challenges to his narrative. There were at least some intellectuals in the Chile of the 1930s-1960s who exalted indigenous peoples as pivotal members of the national community. In the case of the major ideologue of *mestizaje* Villalobos, what became most striking – at least in recent years – was the fact that his narrative caused such controversies in Chile. In his work on frontier relations, Villalobos adhered to (and perpetuated) an assimilationist version of *mestizaje*. As a result of this process, there were – according to the author – few “pure” Mapuche left in Chile. As *mestizos*, Villalobos contended, they were no longer strictly indigenous and therefore had no right to demand special rights, such as collective ownership of their ancestral lands. By taking such an overtly political line, Villalobos triggered a vociferous debate in the national press, which in some ways served to invalidate his views and promote those of his adversaries. Many Mapuche and non-Mapuche academics denounced his evolutionist view of history and the government remained resolute in its decision to continue with the (part) restitution of Mapuche communal lands. Thus the reception of even those writers most associated with the denial of indigenous peoples’ rights shows that there were attempts to assert a very different narrative.

Contestation and debate

Thus it is worth emphasising – and this was the main theme to emerge from all four chapters of my thesis – that dominant discourses of Chilean nationhood were contested and debated throughout the twentieth century. While existing literature has confirmed the presence of alternative or competing discourses, it has rarely focused on their institutional dissemination and historical reception. In conjunction with the growing influence of anthropology, for example, there emerged – in the 1920s/1930s – a narrative of *chilenidad* based on the country’s unique geography and natural landscape. Due to their supposedly close relationship with the land, the Mapuche became an important feature of this more popular version of nationhood. The poetry and fictional literature from the period, the publication of Mapuche *llongko* Pascual

Coña's memoirs and the changes made to the exhibition of the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural were all symptomatic of this growing interest in Mapuche culture.

The "nature discourse" also became significant in Leftist representations of nationhood. Figures such as Alejandro Lipschutz were key to the development of a narrative in which the liberation of the Mapuche (from exploitative estate owners) became intrinsically linked to the liberation of Chile (from Yankee or European imperialism). Defying conservative elitist images of *chilenidad*, the Left had long since sought in the Mapuche an authentic, popular sense of national identity; as early as 1927 the Communist Party declared its commitment to "defend the Indian way of life".¹ It was not until the 1960s, however, that leftist parties made the "Mapuche question" central to their reform agenda. Such developments coincided with a cultural resurgence among Mapuche people in Chile, as exemplified by the publication of Sebastian Queupul's verses in Mapuzungun in 1966. Allende only remained in power for one thousand days, but his Indigenous Law of 1972 (discussed in Chapter Two) has been interpreted by many Mapuche intellectuals as a fundamental turning point in the historical relationship between indigenous peoples and the Chilean state. Thus, not only were dominant discourses being contested, they were being contested from within the state.

As a result of democratisation in the early 1990s there was a renewed attempt to rethink official narratives of Chilean-ness; explicitly assimilationist narratives were countered by a (continentally endorsed) discourse of multiculturalism. Mapuche poetry "boomed", Pascual Coña's memoirs became a best-seller, intercultural education was made a priority, a Mapuche woman was appointed as director of the Museo Mapuche de Cañete, and the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural incorporated the term Mapuche "nation" into its exhibition. Democratic by definition came to mean multicultural. As numerous scholars have noted, 1990 was a turning point in debates about ethnic politics in Chile. Often implied, though, is the

¹ Cited in José Bengoa, *Historia de un conflicto: El Estado y los mapuches durante el siglo XX* (Santiago: Planeta/Ariel, 1999), pp. 134-135.

idea that this was the first instance of hitherto dominant images of *chilenidad* being challenged whereas I would argue that it represented the latest stage in a long history of debate and contestation. What remains questionable is how far multiculturalism implies a substantive shift away from *mestizaje*: to what extent has multiculturalism become interculturalism? This question was raised in my chapters on education and museums, and will be discussed in more detail below. The main point to emphasise here is that competing narratives had a real impact on the state's official discourse of nationhood, in that this changed in response to the debates taking place, an indication that official and dominant are not necessarily synonymous. It is therefore problematic – at least on a discursive level – to say that the place of the Mapuche in imaginings of Chilean nationhood has been persistently suppressed, or their voice completely silenced. According to José Bengoa, the history of the Mapuche people “is a history about intolerance, about a [Chilean] society that does not accept the existence of a different people”.² There is much truth to his comment, but in order not to obscure the complexities of the relationship between Mapuche and Chilean identity discourses, it is important to qualify such generalisations.

Mapuche participation in identity debates

An important aspect of national identity debates in twentieth century Chile was their incorporation of Mapuche voices. Anthropologists Rolf Foerster and Sonia Montecino, discussed in Chapter One, have highlighted the important role of Mapuche political organisations, from the early twentieth-century onwards, in debates about education, injustices committed against Mapuche people and land conflicts in the south. Florencia Mallon has also produced some insightful work on Mapuche communities' participation in (and radicalisation of) Allende's land reform programme in the early 1970s. One of the aims of this thesis was to complement such a narrative of Mapuche agency by investigating individuals' and organisations' role in historiographical debates, education, museums and contemporary literary expression. Today there can be little doubt about such participation. The Museo

² José Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo mapuche, Siglo XIX y XX*, 6th Edn (Santiago: Ediciones LOM, 2000), p. 11.

Mapuche de Cañete has a Mapuche director; this museum and the Museo Regional de la Araucanía employ Mapuche educational guides; Mapuche teachers are central to the Concertación's *Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* reforms; Mapuche poets have become involved in museum exhibitions and they have taken part in many university conferences.

My thesis has also endeavoured to show, though, that Mapuche involvement in discussions about nationalism and national identity in Chile is not an entirely new phenomenon. Mapuche actors have more presence than they had before and their positions have become more authoritative, but their participation in the four “sites of mediation” investigated here began long before the 1990s. Manuel Mankelef (a Mapuche political leader and teacher) translated extracts from Palacios's *Raza chilena* into Mapuzungun soon after it was published in 1904 and Pascual Coña agreed to recount his life history to a Capuchin missionary in the late 1920s. By this time many Mapuche had started to enter the teaching profession; indeed, they were soon to set up their own interest groups, such as the ‘Organización de Maestros Araucanos’. In the 1930s several Mapuche from communities in the south agreed to go to Santiago to build a *ruka* for the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural. During the same period many Mapuche writers were publishing their work in Mapuche periodicals such as the *Heraldo Araucano*. Thirty years later Mapuche poetry (by Sebastián Queupul) was published in book form. In the early 1970s local Mapuche communities organised to defend the Museo Araucano in Temuco when it was threatened with closure, due to financial problems. In short, some degree of Mapuche participation was a constant throughout the twentieth century. Even if their role was not a prominent one, Mapuche people were at least visible and vocal in identity debates. This was particularly noticeable at a local level. While several scholars have picked up on different instances of Mapuche agency in the cultural, educational or political arenas, it has rarely been framed within a discussion of their engagement with ideas about race and nation. My thesis has attempted to fill this gap, and in doing so to highlight the diversity of the Mapuche actors involved.

The role of the state

The Mapuche teachers, local leaders and writers referred to above were rarely separatist in outlook; they sought official recognition of Chile's cultural pluralism, they demonstrated in favour of communities' rights to communal land but they did not seek to establish a separate Mapuche state. Instead, they generally sought to protect their indigenous identity within the Chilean state. Despite the recent emergence of a more radical discourse of Mapuche nationhood and territoriality among certain political organisations such as the *Co-Ordinadora Arauco-Malleco*, the same can still be said of the majority of Mapuche people in the early 2000s. Participation in national identity debates has often involved harsh criticisms of Chilean state policy but it has also meant negotiation with (rather than defiance of) the state. This is particularly true of those Mapuche working for or involved in the education system and museums. It is also true for Mapuche academics and poets, once their work is financed, published or awarded prizes by state institutions.

The role of the Chilean state (strong and relatively efficient under both authoritarian rule and democracy) in cultural life should not be underestimated, but this does not mean it has been able to impose a pre-established version of national identity on its citizens. By keeping the state very much in the picture but also by analysing the way in which civil society has contested state-sponsored representations of Mapucheness and Chilean-ness, my thesis has sought to avoid both an overly state-centric and an exclusively bottom-up approach to nationalism and national identity in Latin America. The history of Mapuche resistance against the Chilean state is neither constant nor uniform. Since the occupation of Mapuche territory in the late-nineteenth century (in fact, even before this) many Mapuche have demonstrated a willingness to engage with the state to secure certain rights. Such instances of non-resistance, though, do not automatically imply their domination or co-optation by the state's nation-building project. Although power relations have often determined the path this nation-building project took (i.e., the outcome of identity debates), I have

sought to show the complex process of negotiation and bargaining that has evolved between the state and indigenous cultures in Chile.

There was never a policy of official *indigenismo* in Chile, as there was in Post-Revolutionary Mexico and Leguía's Peru. However, there were popular governments which took some limited measures to promote the indigenous component of Chilean nationality. Under Aguirre Cerda, in 1941, a state decree was passed to establish the Museo Araucano de Temuco. In 1953 Ibáñez created the Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas, responding to pressure from Mapuche political organisations. As noted in Chapter One, he also appointed a Mapuche, Venancio Coñuepán as Ministerio del Departamento de Tierras y Colonización. The bibliography for teachers, endorsed by the Christian Democrat government, promoted the work of several *indigenista* intellectuals and the Ministry of Education financed Sebastian Queupul's poetry publication in 1966. It was also during the Christian Democrat Government that the state-run Museo Mapuche de Cañete was founded. Under Allende, Alejandro Lipschutz was brought in to help incorporate Mapuche communities more fully into the state's agrarian reform programme. Since the 1990s the Concertación has contracted many Mapuche teachers and monitors to work on its EIB projects; it has awarded several Mapuche poets national literary prizes and their work has also been included in school textbooks.

Official attempts to incorporate indigenous sectors were not always successful, but this does not mean we should ignore them. One could argue that Chilean governments acknowledged the validity or relevance of *indigenista* discourses in order to control them. By taking on at least some elements of *indigenista* rhetoric and practice, governments also aimed to pre-empt the widespread adoption of the more threatening *indianista* narratives circulating in Latin America from the 1960s onwards. By this time, of course, Mapuche organisations and their leaders had already established themselves as important actors on the political scene.

The best illustration of the state successfully asserting its control over identity debates is found in my chapter on Mapuche poetry. Historically Mapuche poetry has posed many challenges to official narratives of *mestizaje*. Until the 1980s, though, few Chileans were aware of its existence; now Mapuche writers win national literary awards and their work is reviewed in mainstream newspapers and academic journals. To a certain extent, the poetry's inherent challenges have been taken up by the state; by officially promoting this literature it has proved willing to assert the country's ethnic diversity. On the other hand, however, its engagement with the poetry can be understood as a classic example of the state's strategies of appropriation, its attempts to nationalise so-called 'popular' cultural practices. The verses of Elicura Chihuailaf and Leonel Lienlaf, for example, have been used to show the threatened but continued existence of an oral, rural (once heroic) people, who gave Chile its unique national identity. Other parts of their poetry, such as their attacks on state policy (i.e., development projects or police repression), or demands for the recognition of Mapuche territorial autonomy, have been conveniently glossed over. President Ricardo Lagos himself provided an excellent illustration of such a strategy. On receiving the final report of the *Comisión de Verdad Histórico y Nuevo Trato de los Pueblos Indígenas* in October 2003, he made an emotive speech in which he specifically quoted from Chihuailaf and Lienlaf to praise the work being done by the commission. Just as Lienlaf had wanted to "rescue the silence of [his] people", so had the commission allegedly achieved this, and Chihuailaf's valley, bathed in the "blood of [his] ancestors" had – through the dialogue created by the commission – been "renamed Chile".³

Thus, the Chilean state has consistently attempted to establish the parameters of debate about Mapuche and Chilean identities, but at moments it nonetheless allowed a space for different voices to be heard and it did so throughout the twentieth century. That this was the case – even when on some occasions state officials denied the very existence of indigenous peoples in Chile – is indicative of the complex and multi-layered reality of the state apparatus. At the same time as Neruda was told

³ The full speech can be found on www.gobiernodechile.cl.

there were no “Indians” in Chile (1940), the government published population statistics and passed indigenous legislation that, to the contrary, confirmed the presence of indigenous cultures in the country. It was also in 1940 that the state created the Museo Araucano in Temuco; this institution presented Mapuche culture as exclusively rural but it nonetheless highlighted Chile’s indigenous history and demonstrated the valuable contribution of this people to national and frontier society. As noted earlier, even under Pinochet, who once proclaimed “not a leaf moves in this country if I am not moving it”,⁴ there were several examples of state entities promoting divergent, sometimes contradictory, representations of *chilenidad*.

In 2005 the heterogeneous nature of the Chilean state is perhaps even more apparent. The current state-authorised history curriculum has engaged with debates about cultural diversity and indigenous peoples’ rights – it acknowledges the Mapuche as a ‘people’, as do several state museums – but the Chilean political constitution does not. The Concertación government has tried to amend this aspect of the constitution on several occasions, but Congress (dominated by the Right) has repeatedly thwarted such efforts.⁵ There have also been clashes between the (less tolerant side of) the government and the judiciary. For example, the Concertación recently decided to authorise the use of testimonies from witnesses with hidden identities against Mapuche *llongkos* (charged with terrorism), yet the move largely failed because many judges dismissed their trials on the pretext of a lack of reliable evidence.⁶

⁴ Cited in Mary Helen Spooner, *Soldiers in a Narrow Land: The Pinochet Regime in Chile* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 163.

⁵ The new constitution signed on 17th September 2005 was an important achievement for the Concertación government – it abolished the designated senators, increased congressional investigatory powers and increased the authority of the President over military appointments – but it continued to promote Chile as a single, unitary nation. In his speech to Congress that day, Lagos expressed disappointment: “Naturally no constitution is a finished document, and neither is this one. We can and should review it in accordance with the future needs of the country. I do not think that constitutional recognition of indigenous peoples, cultures, ethnicities and languages should remain omitted in the Chile of the twenty-first century” but he was unable to impose his will on Congress. See ‘President Lagos signs new Constitution for Chile’ on www.chileangovernment.cl.

⁶ Scores of Mapuche political leaders have been put on trial as terrorists in the 2000s, when their crime (damage to forestry companies’ holdings or vehicles, for example) would be more realistically described as vandalism or sabotage. Significantly, the legislation used to permit the testimonies of witnesses with hidden identities was introduced by the Pinochet regime.

Indigenismo

The Chilean experience of *indigenismo* – even though or perhaps precisely because it has not been an official script of nationalism – can act as a useful point of comparison for assessing the significance of the concept in Latin America more generally. To a certain extent it provides further evidence for negative critiques of *indigenista* doctrines, as regards the extent to which their endorsement or promotion by states implied any real engagement with ethnic diversity. It reinforces the limitations of *indigenista* narratives, particularly their propensity to relegate indigenous cultures to the past. In Chile's case this was not the pre-Columbian past, as it was for Mexico's Aztec or Peru's Inca civilisations, but rather the colonial past, for it was during this period that the Araucanians attained their notorious reputation as valiant warriors. This stereotype of the Mapuche was predominant throughout much of the twentieth century. Indeed, it was often employed by the Mapuche themselves, seeking to glorify their history of (a daring and ultimately successful) struggle against the Spanish *conquistadores*. In the early 2000s, many museum exhibitions (including the revised exhibition of the Museo Histórico Nacional) still refer to the Mapuche only in the past tense, highlighting where they *used* to live, what sports they *used* to play and what jewellery, clothes or food they *used* to make.

Indigenista narratives, like *mestizaje*, have tended to focus on the need to integrate and modernise Chile's indigenous cultures. They have also been criticised as casting indigenous peoples as passive victims of national economic progress; the Chilean state, deeming itself to be an arbiter of social problems, the only entity capable of correcting major social inequalities, claimed for itself the role of protecting indigenous peoples. The state would protect "Indians" because they were seen as incapable of looking after themselves. This was particularly clear in the discourse of the Christian Democrats. Radomiro Tomic, for example, when reflecting on the way in which Gabriela Mistral had defended the "mistreated indigenous populations", linked them to "children, rural peasants, women, neglected teachers [...] and the other defeated of this world."⁷ Mapuche people were to be pitied for their

⁷ 'Conversando con Radomiro Tomic', *Presencia* (March-April 1989).

backwardness and poverty; they were a problem to be resolved, albeit a localised one (as shown by the teaching guidelines of the late 1960s), not an element of national culture to be exalted.

Leftist versions of *indigenismo* also had their limitations. Allende's Popular Unity was the first government in Chile to make the indigenous question central to its political agenda. In his speeches to the Chamber of Deputies Allende emphasised the cultural differences of the country's Mapuche community, but the main focus of his government's legislation was to incorporate them (as land-hungry peasants) into its agrarian reform process. The process was fraught with problems, not least because the state over-estimated Mapuche people's "natural" inclination to work together as a collective; contrary to popular conceptions about life on Mapuche reservations, they had a tradition of individual not collective production. More importantly, there was no discussion of Mapuche autonomy; Popular Unity discourse rarely (if ever) acknowledged that Mapuche people might reject Chilean national identity. Mapuche communities were incorporated into images of the national community as part of the class struggle (against the landed oligarchy) and as such the problems they faced were reduced to this struggle; their best interests were deemed to be in class (rather than ethnic) organisation. Indeed, to mobilise along ethnic-based demands was seen as an impediment to the class struggle.

However, the Chilean experience also shows that state engagement with *indigenista* doctrines – even considering their reductionist implications and the fact that they were primarily the constructs of non-indigenous people – opened up many spaces. Moreover, Mapuche people, like other indigenous peoples in Latin America, could and did make use of these spaces, particularly as regards making demands upon the state to fulfil its economic and social obligations. From as early as the 1930s Mapuche communities' protests had an impact on land legislation. As remarked by Alvaro Jara, Xavier Albó, Rolf Foerster and Sonia Montecino, all governments proceeded with the division of the *reducciones* [reservations] but they were often forced to slow down the process or set limits because of the angry response from

Mapuche political organisations.⁸ Under Allende thousands of Mapuche farmers benefited from agrarian reform and new credit schemes,⁹ and many joined organisations such as the Consejos Campesinos [Peasant Councils]; in some provinces Mapuche farmers made up the majority of people on the Council and were able to dominate its agenda.¹⁰ As detailed in Chapter Two, Mapuche political leaders were also involved in both setting up and managing the Instituto de Desarrollo Indígena, and they responded enthusiastically to bilingual education initiatives. Indeed, far from bilingual education being imposed on them, this was something that Mapuche organisations had repeatedly demanded. My work has focused on primary and secondary education but there are also numerous examples of adult literacy programmes in Mapuzungun, particularly in Temuco, in which hundreds of local Mapuche took part as monitors and teachers.¹¹

Even when the discourse was explicitly integrationist Mapuche people could still turn it to their own advantage. In a letter to Christian Democrat Bernardo Leighton in the 1960s for example, Mapuche organisations from Temuco specifically requested “the economic, educational and material means” to “integrate [themselves] into the great Chilean family”.¹² As noted in Chapter Three, Manuel Aburto Panguilef praised the Museo Histórico Nacional for preserving Mapuche cultural heritage, and encouraged the state to do more in this area. Additionally, local Mapuche leaders in Temuco called on central state authorities to support them in their efforts to find a permanent home for the Museo Araucano in 1970; they also demanded and obtained increased state funding for this cultural institution.

⁸ Alvaro Jara, *Legislación indigenista de Chile* (Mexico D.F: III, 1956); Xavier Albó, ‘Andean People in the Twentieth Century’ in F. Salomon and S. Schwarz (eds.) *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*. Vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Rolf Foerster and Sonia Montecino, *Organizaciones, líderes y haciendas mapuches* (Santiago: CEM, 1988).

⁹ According to Stephen Lewis, some 70,000 hectares of land were expropriated and restored to indigenous communities. See ‘Myth and History of Chile’s Araucanians’, *Radical History Review* 58 (Winter 1994), p. 136.

¹⁰ For an insightful and detailed account of the role of Mapuche communities in the agrarian reform process of the late 1960s and early 1970s see Kyle Steenland, *Agrarian Reform Under Allende: Peasant Revolt in the South* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977).

¹¹ See Robert Austin, *The State, Literacy and Popular Education in Chile, 1964-1990* (New York: Lexington Books, 2003), pp. 169-173.

¹² See Chapter Two of this thesis, p. 134.

Ultimately – looking at both the constraints imposed and spaces opened up by continental discourses of *indigenismo* – my thesis argues that Chile needs to be understood as part of Latin America’s history of ethnic conflict, not separate from it. This is particularly evident in 2005, as Chile bears witness to a highly sensitive and politicised debate about the role of the Mapuche (and Indian-ness more generally) in Chilean nationhood, but the evidence presented in my thesis demonstrates that many of the parallels were also evident long before 2005.

Writing Chile back in to Latin America

Traditionally, Chile has been seen as ethnically different from most other countries in Latin America. My thesis refutes such notions of Chilean “exceptionalism”, not only by arguing that indigenous peoples do exist in Chile, and that they are culturally, economically and politically marginalised from national society, but also by highlighting instances of the Chilean state’s engagement with the problem of ethnic integration. Mapuche participation in identity debates has often (although not always) involved the outright rejection of dominant discourses of *chilenidad*; it has, in some cases, led to the elaboration of Mapuche nationalist discourse, demanding the recognition of Mapuche cultural, linguistic and territorial autonomy. There is much work (by historians, anthropologists and political scientists) available on the current situation of the Mapuche in Chile: the escalating violence, the land conflict, frustrated calls for a politics of recognition and so forth. However, Chile has rarely been incorporated into comparative studies of the rise and impact of indigenous movements in Latin America. It is beyond the remit of my thesis to make any conclusive judgements of comparison, but I can at least suggest why or how such studies would benefit from incorporating the Chilean experience.

There are many parallels between the protests and demands of Mapuche organisations in Chile and those of other indigenous movements in Latin America, as there are in the historical and political context that gave rise to such protests and demands in the first place. In this sense, to bring Chile into the equation is mainly to

complement some of the points raised in the existing literature. The upsurge of indigenous politics in Chile, for example, as in many other countries, was the consequence of broader processes, mainly re-democratisation, which opened up new spaces of participation, but also neo-liberal reform which exacerbated indigenous communities' economic problems and led to a great disillusionment with democracy. Because of governments' neo-liberal agendas there has been a widespread failure to transform state ideologies of multiculturalism into effective citizenship rights for indigenous peoples. Chile's Indigenous Law of 1993 represented an important milestone in Chilean history. However, when faced with investors' desire for the swift installation of new hydroelectric dams or forestry enterprises in the south the Concertación proved unwilling to comply with the basic premises of the law. Those were to protect indigenous communities' lands and recognise that these communities should have a say in development projects that directly affect them. Moreover, in Chile, just as elsewhere in Latin America, indigenous peoples represent the poorest and least educated sectors of society,¹³ an indication of the way in which class divisions are re-articulated through race and ethnicity. Perhaps, then, the problem is not nationalism (indigenous organisations have been able to negotiate with nationalist ideologies, particularly once combined with a philosophy of *indigenismo*, even if this was not official, as in Chile's case), but rather attempts to combine nationalism and neo-liberalism. It is, after all, the specific combination of nationalism's inclusionary promise and neo-liberalism's exclusionary practice that has caused so many Mapuche (as well as Maya, Aymara, Quechua, Quichua, Zapotec) political activists to rebel against the state.

As remarked by Charles Hale, multicultural reforms have presented novel spaces for conquering rights but these are accompanied by unspoken parameters.¹⁴ He

¹³ The recent *Comisión de Verdad Histórica y Nuevo Trato de los Pueblos Originarios* (2002-2004) documented the social discrimination suffered by indigenous peoples in Chile, claiming that 32.3% of indigenous people lived in poverty, compared to 15.1% of non-indigenous people. See Rodrigo Valenzuela, 'Análisis comparado del impacto de las políticas públicas sobre la población indígena de Chile, según encuestas de CASEN', Santiago November 2002, Archivo: CVNHT-GTDES-2002-0540.

¹⁴ Charles Hale, 'Rethinking Indigenous Politics in the Era of the "Indio Permitido"', *NACLA Report on the Americas* (September-October 2004), p. 17.

continued: “Neo-liberal multiculturalism permits indigenous organisation, as long as it does not amass enough power to call basic state prerogatives into question.”¹⁵ There is little doubt that Mapuche organisations now have an important presence in Chilean political debates. For example, the Consejo Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena (CONADI), established as a result of the Indigenous Law (1993), includes numerous Mapuche representatives. In fact, most directors of CONADI have been Mapuche, and it is consulted about all public policy affecting indigenous communities. However, the state appoints the director and in the case of Domingo Namuncura he was just as easily removed when he objected to the Ralco project in southern Chile.¹⁶ Hale’s notion of the “indio permitido” – the author focused on the Guatemalan experience but also gave an overview of ethnic politics in the region as a whole – is therefore particularly relevant to the “Mapuche question” in contemporary Chile. My conclusions about Mapuche poetry reaffirm this point. As described by Hale, “the indio permitido [...] substituted “protest” with “proposal”, and learned to be authentic and fully conversant with the dominant milieu”. The “Other”, prohibited Indian, he said, was “unruly, vindictive and conflict prone”.¹⁷ Chihuailaf – or at least the official version of him – fits within the first definition, thus his work is promoted by the state. David Añinir, associated with the Coordinadora Arauco-Malleco, which has been involved in incidences of “social disturbance” in the south and has several members in prison on charges of terrorism, is a good example of the second.¹⁸ Having over-stepped the boundaries of state-guided dialogue, Añinir’s work receives no official endorsement. Bringing Chile

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁶ Namuncura was director of CONADI between 1997-98. For his perspective on the Ralco project (a hydroelectric dam built by ENDESA in the Alta Bío Bío), which forced 100 Mapuche-Pehuenche families off their lands, see Domingo Namuncura, *Ralco: Represa o Pobreza?* (Santiago: Ediciones LOM, 1999).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *El Mercurio* has helped to perpetuate (if not exacerbate) fears about disorder in the southern regions, focusing on the violent actions carried out by Mapuche organisations. See, for example, ‘Denuncia de CORMA: Grupos paramilitares entre mapuches’ (22nd January 2003), p. C3; ‘Conflicto indígena: Mapuches emboscan a carabineros’ (20th April 2003), p. C9; ‘Estudio de Libertad y Desarrollo: Conflicto mapuche sigue ruta zapatista’ (21st April 2003), p. C9. Gonzalo Vial, who writes for the Santiago daily *La Segunda*, has claimed that the Coordinadora Arauco-Malleco is responsible for almost all the violent conflicts (illegal land seizures, the burning of trucks, physical attacks against state authorities and judges). See ‘Los revolucionarios de la Araucanía’, *La Segunda* (30th April 2002).

into studies on indigenous rights in Latin America therefore serves to reinforce the idea that state ideologies of multiculturalism have the same dual quality as previous discourses of *indigenismo*: they have both opened up spaces (by proclaiming equality), yet they also impose constraints (homogeneity and depoliticisation).

Chilean governments have, since the early 1990s, officially assumed a discourse of multiculturalism, but *indigenismo* never became part of the master narrative in the country. This distinguished Chile from twentieth-century Peru or Mexico yet, despite such historical differences, the plight of Chile's Mapuche community in the early 2000s is very similar to that of other indigenous cultures in Latin America. In other words, even in countries where *indigenismo* has an important historical legacy – i.e., where it was a key element of assertive nationalism – many indigenous peoples still feel they have not been meaningfully included in the nation.

However, there are, of course, important differences between Chile and its neighbours. Reforms granting constitutional recognition to indigenous peoples have been enacted in Bolivia (1994), Brazil (1988), Colombia (1991), Ecuador (1998) Guatemala (1985), Mexico (1992), Nicaragua (1986), Panama (1997), Paraguay (1992) and Peru (1993).¹⁹ The scope and depth of the reforms has varied greatly, but all these states have officially declared themselves to be multiethnic and praised the indigenous contribution to the cultural diversity of the country. Chile has an Indigenous Law (1993), which acknowledges the existence of eight different ethnic groups in the country, but the constitution – as noted above – still asserts that Chile is one homogeneous unitary state. How can we explain this?

Rodolfo Stavenhagen has helpfully linked the question of constitutional recognition to that of regional autonomy. "Latin American states have long argued over the relative benefits and drawbacks of centralised versus federal political systems" he said, but "[o]ver the years the federal idea seems to have won out over more unitary

¹⁹ Rodolfo Stavenhagen, 'Indigenous Peoples and the State in Latin America: An Ongoing Debate', in Rachel Sieder, *Multiculturalism in Latin America, Indigenous Rights, Diversity and Democracy* (London: Macmillan, 2002), pp. 32-33.

and centralised approaches.”²⁰ Some important advances have been achieved in Mexico, where state governments have enacted their own laws on indigenous rights and reformed local constitutions.²¹ According to Alejandro Anaya, indigenous actors were particularly successful in influencing the decision-making process in Oaxaca; having made alliances with state governors they managed to secure numerous reforms such as the recognition of traditional systems for the administration of justice.²² This would have been impossible in Chile. Alan Angell, Pamela Lowden and Rosemary Thorp recently described the Chilean state as a highly centralised apparatus. It has made tentative moves towards decentralisation – in terms of devolving agencies of the central government to the regions – but there is still great caution “about transferring real power or decision-making authority.”²³ (Significantly, decentralisation of social services began under an authoritarian government and was intended to strengthen central control.) In Chile regional governments are appointed, not elected, and municipal governments have very little real power. Even the Concertación’s education reform, which boasted important decentralising measures, was designed and developed at central level before being passed down to the regions.

If regional autonomy is not on the political agenda, it is of little surprise that Chile’s governing elite refuses to engage in debates about Mapuche (and other indigenous cultures’) autonomy. State officials in many other Latin American countries resist calls for indigenous autonomy – and, as noted earlier, there is a great difference between the theory and practice of constitutional reform – but local spaces exist where debates and struggles over indigenous rights can be played out. My thesis has highlighted the importance of Mapuche participation in identity debates during the

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

²¹ See Alejandro Anaya Muñoz, ‘The Emergence and Development of the Politics of Recognition of Cultural Diversity and Indigenous Peoples’ Rights in Mexico: Chiapas and Oaxaca in Comparative Perspective’, *Journal of Latin American Studies* 37 (2005), pp. 585-610. Anaya does not claim that a formal recognition of cultural diversity and indigenous peoples’ rights has been achieved throughout Mexico, indeed, he highlights how uneven such a process has been. In Chiapas, for example, armed conflict has made any reform very difficult. His study does nonetheless show how much can be done at a local level when indigenous actors have a role in the decision-making process.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 588.

²³ Alan Angell, Pamela Lowden and Rosemary Thorp, *Decentralising Development*, p. 3.

twentieth century, and this was particularly noticeable at local level (as demonstrated by events at the Museo Regional de la Araucanía in Temuco and the Museo Mapuche in Cañete). As a result of the state framework in Chile, however, these cultural developments do not cross over into the political terrain. Perhaps, then, this issue of decentralisation would provide a useful starting point to compare the achievements of the Mapuche movement to those of its counterparts in other Latin American countries. It could also prove fruitful to explore how the historical development, demands and structure of Mapuche political organisations differ from those other indigenous movements. Whatever the divergences in their history, they share one major problem today: the lack of a coherent ideology.

Chilean and Mapuche identities in the twenty-first century

In 1940 Neruda's attempts to encapsulate Chilean cultural identity in the smiling face of a Mapuche woman were categorically rejected by Chilean state officials. It is perhaps an indication of how much official versions of *chilenidad* have changed that a glossy brochure celebrating the 19th September 2003 – the Day of the Armed Forces – included precisely this image: the beaming face of a young Mapuche woman, dressed in all her traditional finery.²⁴ Thus, representations of an indigenous Chile prohibited in the 1940s were not only endorsed, but also widely publicised by the state in the early 2000s. To be sure, some Chileans still claim that there are few (if any) indigenous peoples left in the country, and that Chile is essentially a modernised and Europeanised nation. However, this narrative now runs contrary to the discourse of ethnic and cultural diversity promoted by the Concertación government and many other state agencies.

The state-sponsored *Comisión de Verdad Histórica y Nuevo Trato de los Pueblos Indígenas*, established in 2001, is also a telling indication of the extent to which discourses and representations of Chilean (and Mapuche) nationhood have changed during the twentieth century. As part of an official drive to come to terms with the

²⁴ El Ejército de Chile, 'Un Homenaje a Chile y a su Gente en el Día de las Glorias de su Ejército' (Santiago: 2003).

country's conflictive history – ten years earlier the Rettig Commission had documented the disappearance and murder of thousands of Chileans during the Pinochet dictatorship – it aimed to “expand awareness about indigenous peoples’ perceptions of historical events”.²⁵ Many Mapuche academics and political leaders were invited to participate in the *mesas de diálogo* which, apart from setting the historical record straight, were also supposed to make recommendations on a “new state policy permitting Chilean society’s rediscovery of its native peoples”.²⁶ Hence, official rethinking of notions of Chilean political exceptionalism – the acknowledgement that conflict, rebellion and brutal repression were as much a part of Chile’s history as that of other countries in Latin America – helped to trigger a broader revision of narratives of the country’s ethnic exceptionalism.

The truth commission’s findings, which were presented to Ricardo Lagos in October 2003, were not in themselves new. The history of abuse and discrimination suffered by Mapuche communities, state violence against Mapuche organisations and the illegal usurpation of their lands had already been written and published in (widely accessible) books by scholars such as Rolf Foerster, Jorge Pinto and José Bengoa. (All three authors participated in the commission’s discussion tables. Indeed, Bengoa was responsible for the task of “historical revision”.) So, rather than rewriting history, the commission endorsed a certain line of historical enquiry (the revisionist historiography and anthropology emergent in the 1980s) as the truth and sought to diffuse it through official documents, and eventually through school textbooks.

Set within the context of international debates on indigenous peoples’ rights, the commission strongly recommended the government look at the indigenous legislation adopted in other Latin American countries.²⁷ Its final report pressed the

²⁵ The law creating the commission was passed on 18th January 2001. Its full text was reproduced in ‘Documento Oficial’, *Comisión de Verdad Histórica y Nuevo Trato de los Pueblos Indígenas*, Santiago (May 2002). Archivo: CNHNT-SE-2002-022.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ ‘Interpretando el mandato de la Comisión de Verdad Histórica y Nuevo Trato’, approved document dated June 2001. Archivo: CVHNT-DOCOFICIAL-2001-001.

government to secure the constitutional recognition of Chile's indigenous peoples, asserting the validity of the word "people" when existing laws only acknowledged "ethnic groups". It recommended the ratification of Convention 169 of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) as well as the increased political representation of indigenous peoples in the Chilean Congress (it proposed that indigenous peoples should not only stand as representatives for the existent political parties, but also for their indigenous collective).

As outlined in the introduction, discursive and symbolic changes matter because they encompass shifts in power and authority. Mapuche organisations can use the policy recommendations and revised historical narrative presented by the commission to justify their demands of the state, to validate their protests against development projects, to press on with their land claims (the commission provided an abundance of historical information about land titles) and so forth. However, the fact that its recommendations have not yet been transformed into concrete policy changes reiterates the earlier point about the discrepancy between the rhetoric and reality of multiculturalism. President Lagos, for instance, approved the final report of the commission and put its proposals before Congress, but the latter refused to pass the constitutional recognition of indigenous peoples; congressmen also declined to ratify ILO Convention 169.

The real impact of the truth commission, though, resided not so much in its concrete achievements (or lack of them) but in the debate it stimulated in Chilean society. Several right-wing politicians claimed that any official politics of recognition would lead to the creation of a state within a state and threaten the very existence of the Chilean republic. Villalobos denounced its narrow-minded view of history. It was also condemned by many Mapuche intellectuals, who saw it as representative of the state's continuing colonialist treatment of their people, the state's attempt to impose some sort of centralised and institutionalised (albeit more progressive) version of history. Only those Mapuche who supported the government's reform agenda were invited to participate. Those who denounced official multiculturalism as an ideology

that sought to depoliticise Mapuche communities and detract from the very real socio-economic problems these faced, those who were involved in organisations that demanded territorial autonomy, organised land occupations and attacked forestry companies in the south were not asked to collaborate. While they were not included in the commission, however, all of these people's views were voiced in the national press, on the television, radio and Internet. Thus, far from being sidelined, the ethnic question was brought to the forefront of political debate.

The Truth Commission was indicative of the state's willingness to revise, but also its will to monopolise, the meanings of Chilean-ness and Mapuche-ness. Ultimately, however, the debates triggered by the commission rendered the state unable to assert full control over such imagined constructions, precisely because these showed themselves to be multiple and contradictory. Perhaps then, what Chile has experienced during the 1990s and especially since the early 2000s, has not so much been the revision of a hegemonic version of *chilenidad* but rather a move away from the notion that a single all-dominant identity discourse is (or ever was) plausible.

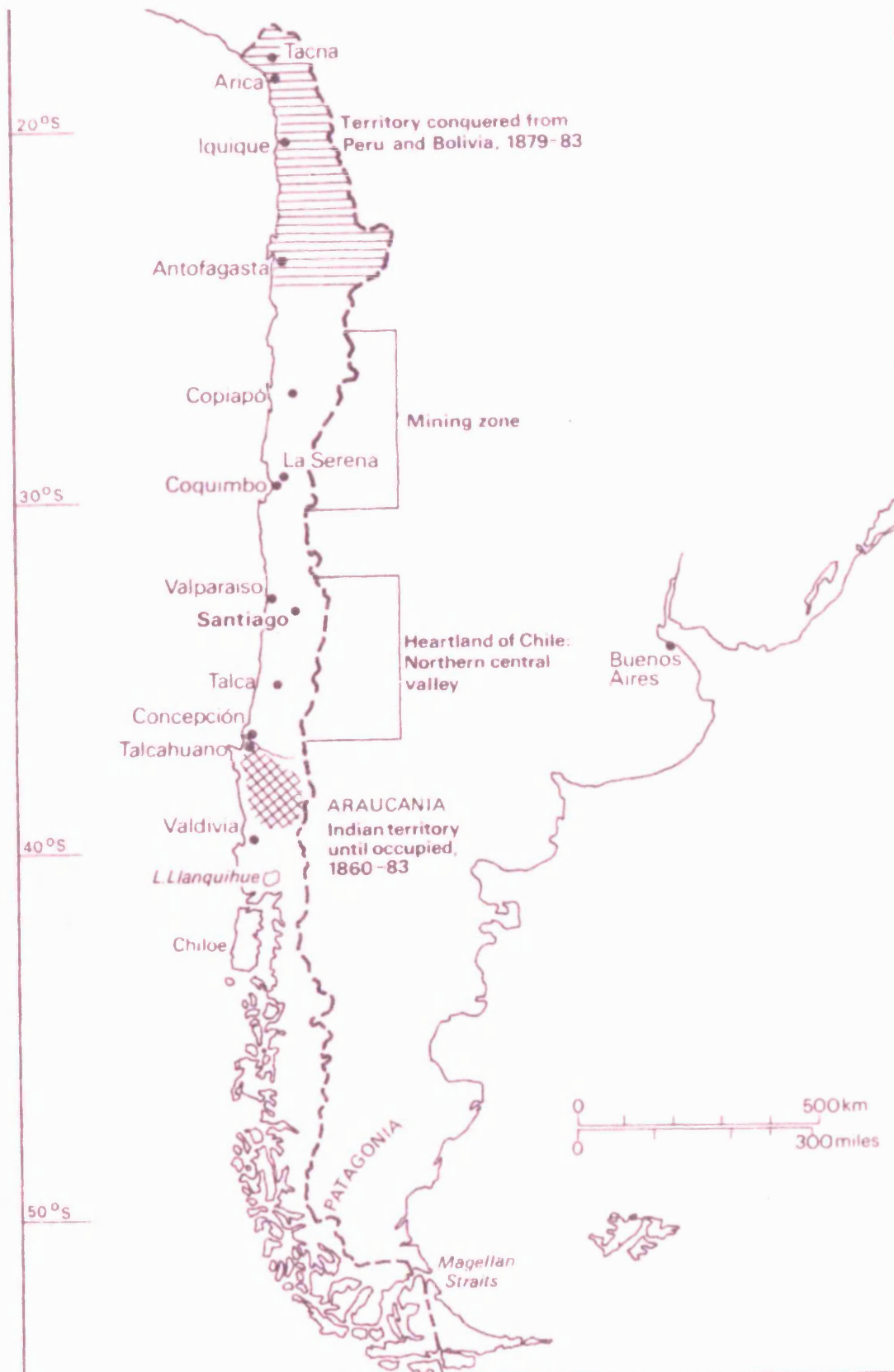
Chilean-ness and Indian-ness became more compatible as the twentieth century wore on, yet to become part of the imagined national community implied many constraints for indigenous cultures. The extent to which Mapuche people are allowed to be different – yet also included as Chilean citizens – remains severely limited today. In the words of Nelly Richard, “Celebrating difference [...] is not the same as giving the subject of this difference the right to negotiate its own conditions of discursive control, to practice its difference in the interventionist sense of rebellion...”.²⁸ Because they have not been given “the right to negotiate [their] own conditions of discursive control” within the state, some Mapuche have begun to elaborate a separatist nationalist discourse. Divisions within the Mapuche political movement have meant that this discourse has yet to gain much momentum. That said, the international context – the radicalisation of indigenous movements

²⁸ Nelly Richard, ‘Cultural Peripheries: Latin America and Postmodernist De-centering’, in John Beverley *et al.*, *The Postmodernism Debate in Latin America* (London: Duke University Press, 1995), pp. 221-222.

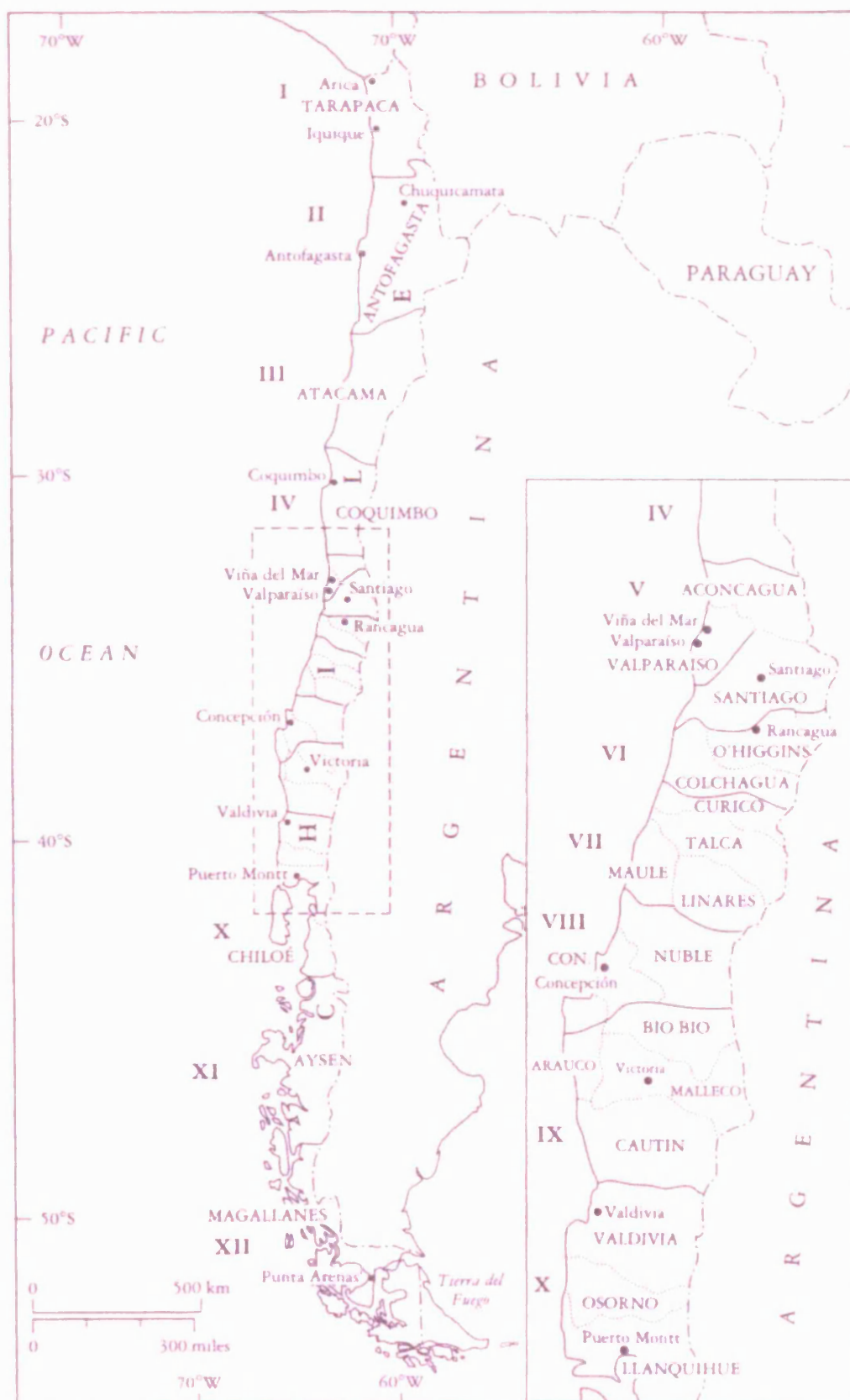
throughout Latin America – provides it with the impetus, and the consolidation of democracy, to a certain extent, provides it with the space.

Despite its obvious restrictions, it is clear that Chilean nationalism has become increasingly more inclusive; it has incorporated the Mapuche as an important part of what it means to be (uniquely) Chilean in a progressively more uniform world. The aim of this thesis has been to show that such inclusion did not emerge from a void in the 1990s; instead, it drew on a history of competing representations of nationhood, to which Mapuche actors made important contributions. Their voices may not always have been heard (of course, power relations determined people's access to the public sphere) but they could often be seen, seeking out a role in the key sites of nation building in Chile. By detailing such instances of Mapuche agency and government responses to it, my thesis has demonstrated that a supposedly civic nationalism has always had an ethnic undercurrent.

APPENDIX



Map 1: Chile in the Nineteenth Century
Source: Leslie Bethell, *Chile Since Independence*, p.5



Twentieth-century Chile, with New (1974) Regions

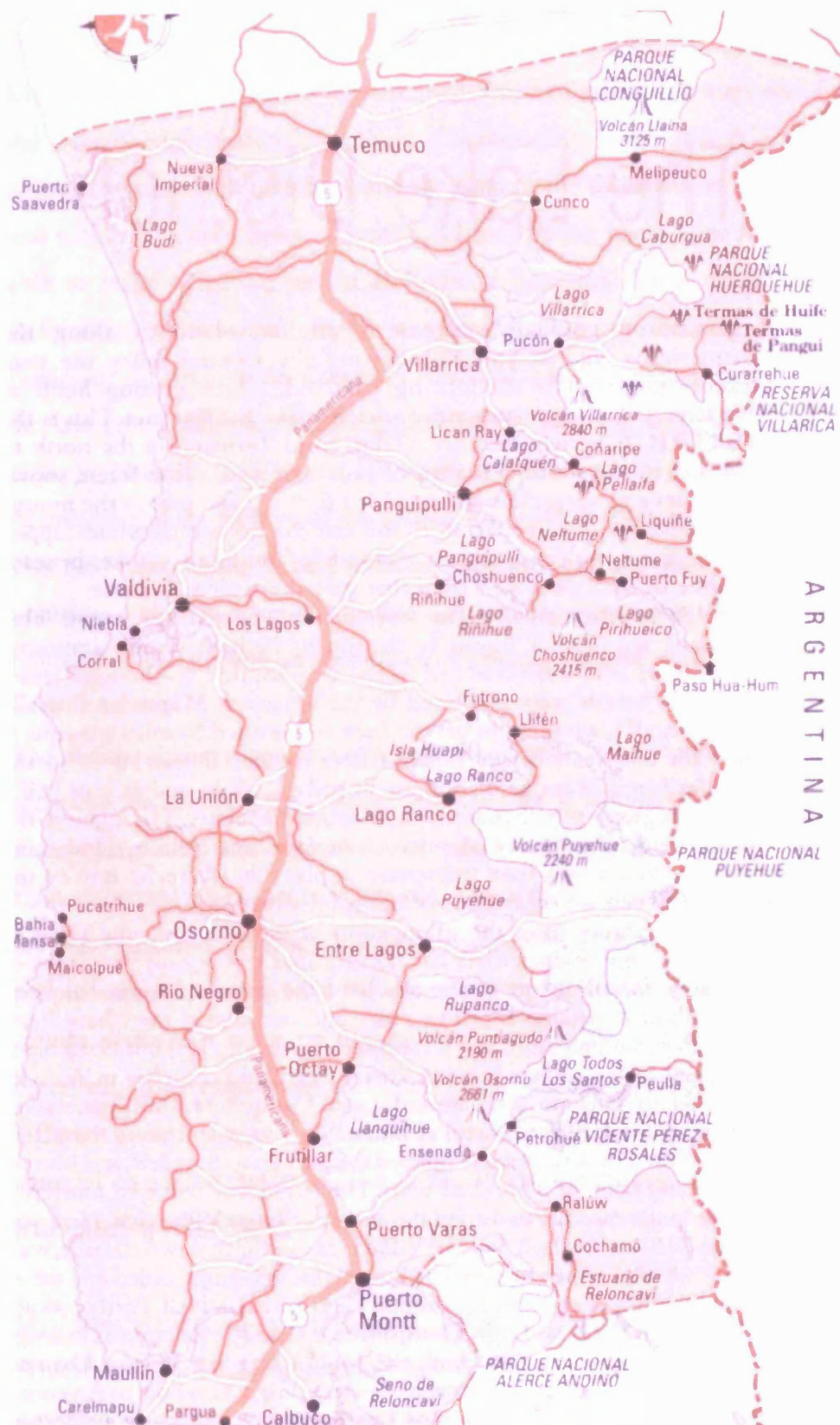
MAP 2

Source: Collier and Sater, *A History of Chile*, p. 293



MAP 3: Chile's Eighth Region (south of Chillán)

Source: Melissa Graham (ed.), *The Rough Guide*, p. 268



MAP 4: Chile's Ninth and Tenth Regions

Source: Melissa Graham (ed.), *The Rough Guide*, p. 318

A NOTE ON SOURCES

Libraries in the UK hold a substantial collection of secondary work on Chile, as does the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Consequently I was able to develop a strong sense of my research questions and the state of the literature on Chilean nationalism and national identity before I went to Chile. Having made three trips in total, I was able to make extensive use of archives in Santiago. These included: the Archivo Referencias Críticas and the *hemeroteca* (newspaper archive) at the Biblioteca Nacional; the Archivo del Congreso Nacional; and the archives at the Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, the Museo de Historia Nacional and the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural. In Temuco I was given access to the Archivo Regional de la Araucanía and the archive of the Museo Regional de la Araucanía. I was also able to visit the Museo Mapuche de Cañete on two occasions and use its archive. Courtesy of librarians and archivists in Chile and their willingness to help with all my enquiries, I returned to the UK with an abundance of primary material.

The main primary sources consulted were newspapers, writings by Chilean and Mapuche intellectuals, the national curricula for History and Spanish, the *Revista de Educación*, state documents about education reform, museum brochures and catalogues, and parliamentary records. I also drew on interviews carried out during my stays in Chile, although I did not quote from them extensively, mainly because people were reluctant to have the interviews taped. My thesis does, however, mention certain issues that came up during interviews or relevant events that interviewees described. Conversations with officials at the Ministerio de Educación and the staff of different museums were particularly helpful for filling in the gaps left by fragmentary material on school curricula prior to the 1960s, the process of education reform and past museum exhibitions.

My examination of parliamentary debates, school curricula, the Ministry of Education's official magazine, law decrees, state museum exhibitions and government reform projects, suggests a top-down focus, which foregrounds the state as the primary narrator of the nation. I did not seek to over-emphasise the power of

the state, but its image projections were nonetheless central to my thesis. Indeed, one of my main objectives was to explore state efforts to control identity debates. However, my thesis also examined the ways in which state interference was challenged and contested. For this reason, a large part of the work focused on individual literary production, such as poetry and historiography, which could not be fully controlled by the state. Certain newspapers do reflect the dominant ideological interests in Chile, but the variety of (both regional and national) newspapers referenced in this thesis provide an overview of different opinions. Museums, likewise, cannot be understood solely as the state presenting an official view of itself, because their journals and cultural activities, even their exhibitions, incorporate many different people and viewpoints at the same time.

As regards the chapter on education reform, my emphasis on school curricula, textbooks and government reform programmes potentially limited its scope to the Ministry of Education's aims and rhetoric, and missed crucial information about what was/is actually taught in the classroom. It was difficult to measure implementation of past reforms without systematic interviewing of teachers, many of whom would already have left the profession. I did take problems with training, teachers' willingness to change their methodologies and the diffusion of teaching material into account, when it was possible and appropriate to do so. However, my main concern was the discourse behind the changes and Mapuche involvement in or responses to such changes.

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